

A BOOK OF
The Uses of Spirits

*The occult Virtues of Plants and Some Rare
Magical Charms & Spells*

*Transcribed from a Latin Manuscript on
Magical Witchcraft, written by John Taylor
A.D. 1563*

A Book of the Offices of Spirits

The Occult Virtue of Plants and
Some Rare Magical Charms & Spells

Transcribed by

Frederick Hockley

from a Sixteenth Century Manuscript
on Magic & Necromancy

by

John Porter



Edited and with an Introduction

by

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INTRODUCTION

I FIRST became aware of *The Offices of Spirits* while researching the ubiquitous Solomonic magical text *Goetia*, a seventeenth-century work that details the names and descriptions of a number of infernal spirits, as well as a method for their conjuration to visible appearance. This work led me to *Antipalus Maleficiorum*¹ ("The Enemy of Witchcraft"), a bibliography of writings on "evil" magic compiled by the German abbot, cryptographer, lexicographer, and magical scholar, Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516). Trithemius is of course best known as the author of the *Steganographia*,² a work that blends both angelic magic and cryptography, but despite its avowed intent, his *Antipalus Maleficiorum* has long been recognized as a valuable guide to the early literature of the occult.

The second chapter of the first book of *Antipalus Maleficiorum* lists at least two works of demonic magic with titles that could be translated as *The Offices of Spirits*.³ Both works are in Latin, but even without a firm knowledge of that language, it is obvious that each of the titles contains a reference to "offices," in the form of the words *Officiorum* and *Officiis*, respectively. While the title of the second text gives little information regarding its contents, the first is considerably more helpful, identifying it as a work in which spirits are listed in rank with four Chiefs, as well as Kings, Dukes, Marquises, and Counts.

1) *Liber quoque Officiorum*, qui incipit: *Multi sapientes tractaverunt*, quam sit vanus, confictus, et mendacio plenus, nemo est vel mediocriter doctus, qui non intelligat. Et quis sapiens illum sine risu vel audire, vel legere posset, in quo demones distinguuntur in quattuor Imperatores, Reges quoque multos Duces, Marchiones et Comites...

2) Et est liber Salomoni adscriptus *De Officiis Spirituum*, magnus et alius ab illo, quem superius nominavi, execrabilis et totus diabolicus, qui sic incipit: *In hoc libro sunt secreta omnium artium*.

1. Johannis Tritemii, *Antipalus maleficiorum...quattuor libro comprehensus*, Moguntiae: Lippius, 1605.

2. Johannes Trithemius; *Steganographia*; Frankfurt: Mattias Becker, Joannes Bernerus; 1606. It existed in manuscript form as early as 1499.

3. Paola Zambelli, *White Magic, Black Magic in the European Renaissance*; Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Despite having the titles as they would have been known in the time of Trithemius, my efforts to locate copies of the texts themselves in the present day were not so easily satisfied, and I searched for nearly a year without success. Then, quite unexpectedly, I was given access to copies of two nineteenth century manuscripts, each of which contained a version of a work entitled *The Offices of Spirits*, followed by that of the much more famous *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon*.

The first of these nineteenth century manuscripts is most unusual in that it appears to have been transcribed by a female copyist.⁴ The manuscript is undated, and has nothing to hint at its provenance beyond a reproduction of the natal horoscope of one John Palmer, following the title leaf of *The Offices of Spirits*. In accompanying notes, the copyist identifies the horoscope as having been taken from Robert Cross Smith's *The Familiar Astrologer*, published in 1831.⁵ The manuscript therefore obviously postdates that year, as is confirmed by the physical evidence of the binding and paper-type, both of which suggest that it is probably from the final decades of that century.

The second manuscript was actually not a manuscript as such, but rather a photographic copy of a manuscript that had been prepared by Frederick Hockley in 1864. This copy was made in the 1940s from Hockley's holograph original which is preserved in the library of the High Council of the Societas Rosicruciana In Anglia (SRIA). Like the aforementioned anonymously-penned manuscript it also includes the diagram of John Palmer's horoscope.

It is immediately apparent that these two nineteenth century manuscripts are derived from a common source, as each contains all but identical

4. My thanks to Keith Richmond and Marilyn Rinn of Weiser Antiquarian Books for loaning me the original manuscript, which served as the starting point for the present work. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Stephen Skinner and Silens Manus, both of whom read through and commented upon a draft version of this text.

5. The text accompanying the horoscope reads "From 'The Familiar Astrologer' 8vo. London, 1831 page 715 [diagram] Nov. 11. 1831. Robert Smith (Raphael) in the last leaf of his last work, gave the Horoscope without comment of Mr. John Palmer; who was destined so soon afterwards to succeed him in his business as an astrologer, and also as Editor of the 'Prophetic Messenger.' With 3 Malefics above the Earth, although possessed of good abilities and fair prospects, upon the direction of ♄ to the M.C. he sank irretrievably lost." The work referred to is: "Members of the Mercurii," *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century, or Master-Key to Futurity*, 7th edition, Supervised and Corrected, with Numerous Additions, by Merlinus Anglicus Junior, London: Knight and Lacey, 1825.

renderings of the same two works: *The Offices of Spirits*,⁶ and *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon*. Most tellingly, both versions of *The Offices of Spirits* include the horoscope of John Palmer. Fortunately, Hockley reveals the reason for the otherwise mysterious inclusion of this diagram in the Introduction that he wrote for his transcription, where he explains that he prepared his text from a copy of a much older manuscript that John Palmer had made in 1832. The anonymous female transcriber of the other manuscript also appears to have made use of Palmer's text, although as she did not comment upon it we have no way of knowing whether or not she was aware of its provenance and therefore the reason for the addition of the horoscope.⁷

Whether it was Palmer or another who first coupled a transcription of *The Offices of Spirits* with *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon* is not known, although it seems safe to assume that the two works were grouped together because both dealt with a similar magical subject: the invocation of spirits. Hockley identifies the text of *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon* as having been "transcribed from a manuscript translation from the original Hebrew into French and thence rendered into English by Dr. Ebenezer Sibley." Sibley (ca. 1749–ca. 1800), was a doctor and surgeon with a passion for astrology and the occult whose voluminous publications included *A New and Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology* (1784–1788) and *A Key to Physic and the Occult Sciences* (1795). His translation of *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon* was unpublished in his lifetime, but circulated widely in manuscript form, there being at least six known versions of the text in the French language dating to the eighteenth century, plus Sibley's translation into English.⁸ An excellent

6. Hockley gives a longer form of the title of the work—that is "A Book of the Offices and Orders of Spirits"—on a page immediately preceding the text itself, however he uses the short form of the title "A Book of the Offices of Spirits" on the actual title-page of his manuscript. The manuscript by the unknown copyist does not have a formal title page as such, but simply has the long form of the title on an otherwise blank page at the start of the work.

7. As the whereabouts of Palmer's original manuscript is unknown it is not possible to tell with certainty who was responsible for the inclusion of the astrological chart. However, logic would dictate that it was either inserted by Palmer himself when preparing the manuscript, or added posthumously by a friend who knew him to have been the copyist.

8. Robert Mathiesen, "The Key of Solomon: Toward a Typology of the Manuscripts," in *Societas Magica Newsletter*, Issue 17; 2007 (accessed on-line via <http://www.societasmagica.org/>).

critical edition of this translation has recently been published, so there is no need to examine the work further here.⁹

The full history of the text entitled *The Offices of Spirits* is somewhat less clear, although its origins appear to lie in that same *Officiorum* mentioned by Trithemius. In common with that work, it references four chief spirits and a list of spirits of noble rank, and also includes the descriptions and offices of the three great infernal spirits Lucifer, Beelzebub and Satan. Manuscript versions of the *Officiorum* undoubtedly circulated amongst European occultists, and it would seem that one of these copies eventually found its way to Britain where it was translated into the English language and thus became the ancestor of the present work. A certain awkwardness in the style of prose in *The Offices of Spirits*, as well as the occasional Latin word or phrase, seems to indicate that it is most likely a direct translation from Latin into English.

In his Introduction to the manuscript Frederick Hockley includes a short history of *The Offices of Spirits* as he understood it. He states that the text had its origins in “a very curious manuscript on Magic and Necromancy written by John Porter in the year 1583,” which would place it in the latter years of the Elizabethan Era and contemporary with similar early English language manuscripts of this type. Although not explicitly stated, there seems to be an inference that *The Offices of Spirits* was just one of a number of works gathered together into Porter’s volume. Hockley presumably did not know whether Porter himself was the author (or possibly the translator) of the texts in the collection, or simply the compiler, working from earlier manuscripts, which was almost certainly the case, at least as far as *The Offices of Spirits* was concerned.¹⁰

According to Hockley’s chronology, Porter’s manuscript then disappeared for some two hundred years, only to re-emerge in the possession of artist and libertine Richard Cosway (1742–1821), described by one biographer as “the

9. Joseph Peterson, editor, *The Clavis or Key to the Magic of Solomon*, Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2009. Peterson’s title is taken from the particular manuscript transcription of Sibley’s translation that is central to his book, and is also that by which the text is most commonly known in English. In the manuscript versions of the same work that are paired with *The Offices of Spirits*, both Hockley and the anonymous female transcriber give Sibley’s title as *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon*.

10. Hockley is unlikely to have been familiar with the *Officiorum*, and consequently would not have identified it as the possible source for *The Offices of Spirits*.

most brilliant miniature painter of the eighteenth century...."¹¹ Cosway's talents attracted the attention of both the English and the French aristocracy, and won him both great renown and a place in fashionable society. He appears to have been somewhat flamboyant both in dress and personality, his eccentric reputation furthered by the not-yet-fashionable practice of conversing with spirits.¹² It was even rumored that he had a private room in which he had constructed a magic circle for the invocation of such spirits, possibly even those listed in *The Offices of Spirits*.

Hockley tells us that following Cosway's death the manuscript was amongst the books and papers that were purchased from his estate by the London bookseller, John Denley (1764–1842). While not a household name, Denley and his shop were known well enough in the occult circles of his time to merit inclusion in Edward Bulwer Lytton's popular Rosicrucian novel *Zanoni*, a book whose premise is thought to have been the impetus behind the cipher manuscripts at the heart of the ubiquitous Hermetic Order of The Golden Dawn.

It is possible that among my readers there may be a few not unacquainted with an old-book shop, existing some years since in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden; I say a few, for certainly there was little enough to attract the many in those precious volumes which the labour of a life had accumulated on the dusty shelves of my old friend D—. There were to be found no popular treatises, no entertaining romances, no histories, no travels, no "Library for the People," no "Amusement for the Million." But there, perhaps, throughout all Europe, the curious might discover the most notable collection, ever amassed by an enthusiast, of the works of Alchemist, Cabalist, and Astrologer. The owner had lavished a fortune in the purchase of unsaleable treasures.¹³

11. George C. Williamson, *Richard Cosway, R.A.*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1905.

12. The rise of the British Spiritualist movement in the middle of the nineteenth century would introduce such interests into the mainstream consciousness of high society, but Cosway's own interests were unfashionably premature

13. Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Zanoni*, London: Saunders & Oatley; 1842, pp. iii – iv.

By Hockley's account the manuscript was then purchased by one George W. Graham (1784–1860?) on behalf of a small occult fraternity known as “The Society of the Mercurii” who were given to the study of astrology, alchemy, and what would eventually become known as spiritualism. Described as “the aeronaut” by Hockley, Graham's occult interests lay chiefly in alchemy, but to his contemporaries he was more popularly known as an enthusiastic if somewhat hapless balloonist whose poor fortune in flying was exceeded only by his good fortune in surviving.

Details of “The Mercurii” remain vague, but it is possible, if not probable, that Richard Cosway had been an early member of the group, as was fellow-artist, John Varley (1778–1842). The popular astrologer Robert Cross Smith (1795–1832), who wrote under the pseudonym “Raphael” and who has since been described by Jocelyn Godwin as the “...man who more than any other was responsible for the occult revival of the early nineteenth century,” was for a time the public face of the group.¹⁴ Smith edited a magazine entitled *The Stragglng Astrologer* and its successor, *Urania; or the Astrologer's Chronicle and Mystic Magazine*, and later published a selection of pieces from the journals in a book called *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century*.¹⁵

It was to John Palmer (1807–1837), a young alchemist and astrologer, that Hockley assigned the final place in his bibliographic lineage of the Porter manuscript. According to Hockley's account, Palmer must have copied *The Offices of Spirits* from Porter's original manuscript, on Smith's behalf, before the latter's death in 1832, and this copy was then acquired by Hockley. The unfortunate Palmer, who went under the *nom de plume* Zadkiel before succeeding Smith as the second in what would become a long line of astrologers bearing the name “Raphael,” only outlived his mentor by five years, dying at the age of thirty. The notes accompanying Palmer's horoscope highlight the ill-omened aspects of the chart and record somberly that he eventually “...sank, irretrievably lost.”

14. Jocelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, New York: SUNY Press; 1994. p. 173.

15. Curiously in his introduction to *The Offices of Spirits* Hockley seems to suggest that part of that manuscript was published in *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century*. However while that work contains a number of excerpts from older occult manuscripts, one of which is said to have been owned by Cosway and passed into the possession of the Mercurii, there were none that I could identify as having come from *The Offices of Spirits*.

The text itself is of particular interest to the modern occultist and scholar in that it catalogs a series of demonic spirits, each with rank and description, and as such bears a striking resemblance to the aforementioned Solomonic work *Goetia*.¹⁶ *Goetia* survives in a number of English-language manuscripts, with the seventeenth century manuscript designated Sloane MS 3825 in the British Library generally held to be the most consistent and reliable. In this manuscript is contained the *Lemegeton* or *Lesser Key of Solomon*, of which *Goetia* is a part, described as containing "...all the Names, Orders and Offices of all Spirits that ever he [Solomon] had any Converse with..."¹⁷

Like *The Offices of Spirits*, *Goetia* lists a number of demons along with their rank, description, number of attendant legions, and offices (abilities). In fact, several names from the two texts match quite closely, if not exactly, and even where the names fail to match, many of the descriptions are practically identical. Given the close correlation between the two manuscripts, it would seem reasonable to speculate that they have a common ancestor. If so, then *The Offices of Spirits* is probably the earlier of the two, as *Goetia* is considerably more organized and includes additional seals for each of its spirits.

Further points of interest evolve in the comparison of the two manuscripts. *Goetia* can be traced back to a listing of spirits in Johann Wier's (1515–1588) *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*,¹⁸ which indicates as its source a work entitled *Officium Spirituum, vel, Liber officiorum spirituum, seu Liber dictus Empto. Solomonis*, a title that at once brings to mind those of the two treatises cited by Trithemius. However, a notable difference is that *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* lists only sixty-nine spirits, rather than the seventy-two of *Goetia*. This gap would account for three major infernal spirits included in the *The Offices of Spirits* that are conspicuously absent from *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* and subsequently *Goetia*: Lucifer, Beelzebub, and Satan. While not appearing in *Goetia*, Lucifer at least is mentioned indirectly in the description of one of the

16. The word *goetia* is Greek in origin and is used in the literature of ceremonial magic to describe the invocation of evil spirits (devils). In contrast the word *theurgia* describes the calling forth of benevolent spirits (angels).

17. Sloane MS 3825, f. 1. Emphasis mine. See also *The Lesser Key of Solomon*; Joseph Peterson, Ed.; York Beach, ME: Weiser, 2001.

18. *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* was included as an appendix to the 1577 and subsequent editions of Wier's *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, a text that was first published in 1563.

spirits, and the four kings that follow are noted under a separate heading as being necessary (in some instances) to command the spirits to appear. This is precisely the manner in which they are utilized in *The Offices of Spirits*.

To illustrate the close correspondence between the works, consider Barbates, given as spirit number fifty-two in *The Offices of Spirits*:

Barbates or Barbares, a Lord and a great Viscount, he appeareth like a shooter or forest man with four minstrels and bearing four trumpets, 1st of gold, 2nd of silver, 3rd of brass, 4th of ivory, he is the guide of many rulers, and truly teacheth to understand the barking of dogs, and the howling and crying of all other beasts, and he telleth of immeasurable treasures that he hid, and hath under him 29 legions.

This correlates with a similarly named spirit, Barbatos, the eighth spirit of *Goetia*:

The 8th spirit is called Barbatos he is a great duke & appeareth when ye [sun] is in [Sagittarius] with four noble kings and their companions in great troops, he giveth ye understanding of ye singing of Birds; and ye voice of other Creatures and ye barking of dogs, &c. he breaketh hidden treasures open, that have been Laid by the Enchantment of Magicians, & [is] of ye order of virtues, which some part beareth rule still &c. he knoweth all things past and to come: & reconcileth friends & those that are in power he ruleth over 30 legions of spirits his seal of obedience is this, w^{ch} wear before you &c.

The resemblance is even more striking when compared to Barbatos as given in *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, which describes his offices similarly and depicts him thus:

Barbatos is a great Count & Duke, he appears in the figure of a field archer with four kings carrying trumpets. He understands the singing of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowing of cattle, and [the speech] of all animals: likewise, treasures hidden by magicians and enchanters, he uncovers: & he is of the order of Virtues, [and] partly of Dominations.

He presides over thirty legions. He knows the past and future: he unites the minds of friends and foes.¹⁹

A comparison of the attributes of various of the spirits listed in *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* and those in *The Offices of Spirits* reveals a number of similarities, with the description of Barbatos/Barbates given by Wier being closer to that found in the *The Offices of Spirits* than that of the *Goetia* in several significant respects. If, for example, one takes Wier's "in signo Sagittarij sylvestris" in a literal ("in the figure of a field archer") rather than an astrological sense ("when ye [sun] is in [Sagittarius]") as given in *Goetia*, it is quite close to the description of "a shooter or forest man" given in *The Offices of Spirits*. Similarly, the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* reference to Barbatos also includes a mention of the kings carrying trumpets ("cum quattuor regibus tubas ferentibus") not found in *Goetia*, but present in *The Offices of Spirits*.

Also of interest is a well known discrepancy between Wier and *Goetia* concerning the spirit Vassago, who is absent from the former but present in the latter, replacing the spirit Prufas. It is presently unknown how the redaction occurred, though it is likely to have been between the publication of Robert Scot's translation of *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* in his work *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*²⁰ in 1584 and the early manuscript versions of *Goetia* that appeared in the middle of the seventeenth century. *The Offices of Spirits*, however, contains a spirit whose name matches quite closely as number seventy, Usagoo, so it is possible that this spirit's name was extracted from this work at some point. The descriptions of the spirits in each work differ, making a proof of the association less than formal, though as previously noted having such differences is not uncommon when comparing the two manuscripts even where the names may seem to agree.

Other manuscripts in the British Library reveal further interesting connections with *The Offices of Spirits*, suggesting that some form of this work

19. Joannis Wieri [Johannes Wierus/Wier], *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, Basel: Ex Officina Oporiniana, 1577; p. 914. "Barbatus magnus Comes & Dux, apparet in signo Sagittarii sylvestris cum quatuor regibus tubas ferentibus. Intelligit cantus avium, canum latratus, mugitus boum [sic] & cunctorum animalium: thesauros item a magis & incantatoribus reconditos, detegit: & est ex ordine Virtutum, partim Dominationum. Triginta praesidet legionibus. Novit praeterita & futura: tam amicorum quam inimicorum animos conciliat." My thanks to Michael Estell for applying a critical eye to this and other translations from the Latin.

20. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, London: William Brome, 1584.

was in circulation in the years between Porter's transcription and Palmer's. One section of the collection of miscellaneous magical tracts in the British Library designated as Sloane MS 3824 closely parallels a part of *The Offices of Spirits*. It contains references to the same spirits that start that work, as well as similar descriptive content for Lucifer, Beelzebub, Satan, and the four kings of the air, Oriens, Paymon, Amaymon and Egin, along with their subservient messengers.²¹

Sloane MS 3853 contains a short treatise bearing the name *The Offices of Spirits*, in which there is an initial listing of ten spirits whose attributes closely match those of the first ten of the Porter text. The text of Sloane MS 3853 then lists the same four kings, although it does not give any detail other than their names and those of a group of spirits subservient to them. The names of these subservient spirits do not, however, match those of the Porter version of *The Offices of Spirits*, nor does the list of further spirits that follows.²²

Beyond the listing of spirit names, some of which are echoed in later manuscripts like the above, *The Offices of Spirits* also details a variety of helpful plants and suffumigations used to control or see spirits, as well as magical operations to be performed according to the day of the week. These operations call for animal sacrifices, with the collected blood said to be of some value to the work at hand. While there is a long history of animal sacrifice across many religious traditions, I consider the practices detailed herein to be spurious at best, and simply representative of the general folklore that accrued around black magic. Unlike sacrifice in the religious/spiritual context, the instruction does not call for an offering unto a deity or spirit, but rather the harvesting of blood and fat for a magical operation. While it is not my intention to morally censure such practices, and I have included details of them to ensure consistency with the manuscript, it is my opinion that any engagement such activities would only result in the needless slaughter of a variety of bats, birds, and other small rodents to no positive effect, magical or otherwise.

This unpleasant connection aside, there is little doubt that *The Offices of Spirits* is an important demonological work that had considerable influence on the magical practices of earlier centuries. Curiously, despite the esteem

21. The relevant passages are reproduced here in Appendix One.

22. The relevant passages are reproduced here in Appendix Two.

in which Frederick Hockley and others before him clearly held it, the text seems to have been largely lost to modern occultism. Its significance to the Solomonic tradition in general, and to the study of the *Goetia* in particular, should not be underestimated. Taken in conjunction with the latter treatise, it appears to complete some of the redactions purposefully made by Wier in *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* by detailing not only Lucifer, Beelzebub and Satan,²³ but also the demon kings of the four directions, Oriens, Paymon, Amaymon, and Egin. While it is not the purpose of this presentation to attempt a reconstruction based on the two manuscripts, those interested in so doing should be able to readily assemble a workable treatise using the materials herein.

23. The inclusion of the names "Lucifer, Beelzebub and Satan" here is significant, as those early manuscripts that actually ventured to mention these demonic personages often sought to obscure the reference by using the abbreviation "L.B.S.," presumably in the hope of avoiding ecclesiastical prosecution.

INTRODUCTION
(FREDRICK HOCKLEY)

The following manuscript of "The Offices and Order of Spirits" was transcribed by Mr. John Palmer in 1832 from a very curious manuscript on Magic and Necromancy written by John Porter in the year 1583. It was formerly in the possession of Richard Cosway, R.A., and purchased at his sale by my friend Mr. John Denley, the celebrated dealer in occult works (see Zanoni) and by him sold to Mr. George Graham, the aeronaut, for the so-called Society of "The Mercurii." Several extracts from the MS is given by Raphael (R.C. Smith) in his "Astrologer of the 19th Century" and at the foot of page 715 he describes it as being valued at five hundred guineas. Shortly after the death of that puffing philosopher in 18...²⁴ the original MS came into my possession, where it still remains....²⁵

Frd. Hockley

1 Jan, 1864

24. The year of Smith's death (1832) is left incomplete by Hockley, presumably because he did not know it offhand.

25. Hockley followed this paragraph with a few remarks on *The Keys of Rabbi Solomon*, which I have omitted as they are not relevant to the present volume.

At the time that this edition of *The Offices of Spirits* went to press several significant questions concerning the history of the work remained unanswered. First amongst these was whether or not the 1583 manuscript by John Porter that Hockley had identified as the original source from which the Palmer manuscript that he transcribed as *The Offices of Spirits* survived, and if so where. Then there was the uncertainty about the relationship between Hockley's text and the manuscript prepared by the anonymous, apparently female, copyist. Clearly the two were—for the most part—nearly identical, but whether one was copied from the other, or both were taken independently from a third source, could not be established with absolute certainty. Thanks to the scholarship of Alan Thorogood, these issues have now been resolved, and I am able to address them in this Addendum.

In the course of his own researches Alan identified the Porter manuscript as surviving in two volumes which are now preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., under the title “Book of Magic, with Instructions for Invoking Spirits, etc. [Manuscript], ca. 1577-1583.”¹ The volumes were originally part of a single manuscript compiled in the late sixteenth century from an eclectic group of magical texts in the Solomonic tradition. It appears this manuscript survived more or less intact until, at some point in the first half of the nineteenth century, it became separated into at least three portions. The first part, comprising pages 1–14, is now missing, the remaining two (pages 15–205 and 206–235 respectively) now form the Folger volumes.² That this is indeed Porter's text—and therefore the source-work from which *The Offices of Spirits* was ultimately derived—is confirmed by a number of points: not least that one page [MS. V.b.26(1), p. 135] includes Porter's name in a simple reverse cipher, and another [MS. V.b.26(1), p. 105], gives the year of the manuscript, 1583, which matches that given in *The Offices of Spirits*.³ Interestingly the manuscript also has the year “1822” and “R.C.S.” on one page [MS. V.b.26(1), p. 15], these being the

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1. Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. V.b.26(1) & V.b.26(2). In addition to earlier folio numbers in brown ink, both volumes have been consecutively paginated in blue ink by a later hand. References that follow are to the latter pagination.
 2. A detailed comparison of Porter's manuscript with Hockley's has yet to be undertaken, but it seems clear that, for instance, the first section of Hockley's manuscript (*The Offices of Spirits*, pp. 7–36) corresponds to the “Officiu[m] de spiritib[us]” section of MS. V.b.26(1) pp. 73–84, whilst “The Experiment” (*The Offices of Spirits*, pp. 52–53) corresponds to MS. V.b.26(2) p. 207, etc.
 3. Porter's authorship is given in code at the end of the passage: “finis: Probatum est sine Dubio: Pro certo: By nh4z: retr4p.” The decipherment, “John Porter,” has been added alongside this in an unidentified hand.

initials of Robert Cross Smith, the member of the occult group “The Mercurii,” who according to Hockley was for a time the owner of the Porter manuscript.

In his Introduction to *The Offices of Spirits*, Hockley recorded that he used a transcription of Porter’s manuscript made by John Palmer when preparing his own manuscript, but a somewhat ambiguous statement in the final line also suggests that Hockley had acquired the original Porter manuscript after the death of Robert Cross Smith. It is now confirmed that Hockley did actually own the first of the two volumes [Folger MS V.b.26(1)], which he referred to as the “Theurgia MS” after the title on its spine.⁴ Given this it seems somewhat strange that Hockley chose to work from Palmer’s transcription rather than the original manuscript. It is of course possible that Hockley chose to follow Palmer’s transcription as it saved him the effort of deciphering the contractions and difficult handwriting of the sixteenth century original, but a more likely reason is that he did not possess the “Theurgia MS” at the time that he actually worked on *The Offices of Spirits*. Perhaps more importantly, it seems that Hockley never came into possession of the second volume [Folger MS V.b.26(2)] which meant that he did not have access to the complete text of Porter’s manuscript.⁵ It is telling, in this regard, that notes in the margins of Hockley’s manuscript reveal that he did check it against the “Theurgia MS” [Folger MS V.b.26(1)] but none relate to the second volume [Folger MS V.b.26(2)].⁶

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4. The spine label of Folger MS. V.b.26(1) has “Theurgia M.S. 1583 Book of Magic.” The “Theurgia MS” was in Hockley’s possession at the time of his death and was subsequently sold by Sotheby’s as Lot 380 of their April 1887 sale, where it was described as: “Theurgia: an ancient Magical MS. in red and black, neatly written, with numerous magic circles, seals, talismans, and several curious pen and ink drawings of various appearances of spirits (imperfect), 97 leaves, half calf (1583).” The manuscript then went through a number of owners before being purchased by the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1958.
 5. Much of the history of the second volume of the manuscript [Folger MS. V.b.26(2)] is unknown. After the death of Robert Cross Smith it evidently by-passed Hockley and went through a series of hands before being acquired by British bibliophile Robert Lenkiewicz (1941–2002). It was then sold at auction by Sotheby’s on July 12, 2007, where it was purchased by the Folger library. That the two parts of the manuscript should thus have been reunited after being separated for nearly two centuries is surely a testament both to remarkable serendipity and the skills of the Curator of Manuscripts at the Folger library, Heather Wolfe, who recognized the volume at Sotheby’s as related to their own.
 6. The marginal references to “Theurgia MS” and “Old MS” in Hockley’s manuscript all refer to corresponding pages in Folger MS. V.b.26(1). At first glance one which gives “Theurgia MS 42” (*infra*, p. 42 n. 35) does not appear to match, but it is clearly just an error in Hockley’s notation, as the equivalent text is found on Folger MS. V.b.26(1), p. 142. While it is possible that these notes simply indicate that Hockley faithfully reproduced marginalia made by Palmer that served the same purpose, this seems unlikely, as none refer to Folger MS. V.b.26(2), to which we know that Palmer had access.

Alan Thorogood has also discovered that Hockley owned another sixteenth century manuscript containing a short Latin "Liber Officiorum," which is now in the Wellcome Library, London.⁷ The section of the work that relates to *The Offices of Spirits* "Floris Excerpti de Libello qui nuncapatur Offitiu[m] Spiritu[u]m" (The Best Excerpts from the Treatise which is called the Offices of Spirits), can be found at ff.101-105. The text details the four kings of the cardinal directions as well as a number of other spirits, and is much in the style of *The Offices of Spirits*, but there are sufficient differences to see that it is not a direct predecessor to that work, even though it is plainly from the same tradition.

The identification of the manuscripts now in the Folger Shakespeare Library as the source of *The Offices of Spirits* also helps shed light on the relationship between the Hockley text and that of the unidentified female copyist. The structure and content of the texts are so close to identical that—given the many idiosyncrasies that exist within the Folger text—it is quite inconceivable that they could have been prepared independently of one another. As the manuscript by the unknown copyist is dearly late nineteenth century, this can only mean that it must have been taken either directly from Palmer's manuscript or from a copy of that, such as Hockley's. That the version by the unknown copyist does not contain Hockley's introduction—or any reference to Hockley—would suggest that she also made one of Palmer's manuscript, or an unknown verbatim copy thereof.

Thanks to the labors of Alan Thorogood and Joseph Peterson (who also indicated the relevance of the Folger Library manuscripts to the Hockley text), some of the major mysteries concerning the history of *The Offices of Spirits* have now been unraveled. Other questions remain, not least of which the possible relationship between the original Porter text of 1583 and the earlier European works that I mentioned in my Introduction. I look forward to continuing my own work on these texts, and also to seeing what the further researches of others bring to this intriguing subject.

Colin D. Campbell

⁷ Wellcome MS. 110. Pseudo-Bacon Roger (1214?-1294) (& others), "Thesaurus spirituum [etc.]." Hockley's name, and what was is most likely the date on which he acquired the work, 10th Feb. 1829, are neatly inked in his own handwriting on a blank facing the first page of text.

CORRIGENDA

p. 14, n. 15. According to the Folger MS. Coolor “hath under him 13 legions Rewboo [Hockley: “Kewboo”] & Coolor are Nos. 21 and 22 respectively in Folger, the positions are reversed in the Hockley MS which may have led to the omission of this detail.

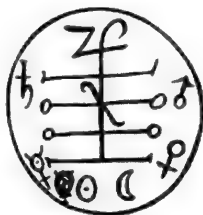
p. 15, n. 17. The Hockley MS correctly transcribes the word as “drakes:” “drake” being an old English word for “dragon” that was still in use during the sixteenth century.

p. 21, n. 55. (Gemmos) “teacheth physics” should read “teacheth physic.”

p. 23, n. 67 (Gasyaxe) Our text, following Hockley’s MS, has “appeareth like a haw (sic),” however, it is apparent from the Folger MS that this should read “appeareth like a hare.”

p. 36, n. 8. (Othey) lines 2-3. Our text, following Hockley’s MS, has “appeareth like to a ton of wind,” however, it is apparent from the Folger MS that this should read “appeareth like to a tyme of wyne” (that is a tun — a cask or barrel — of wine)

p. 50. The figure that is missing from the Hockley MS can be found in the margin of Folger MS V.b.26(1), p. 139. It appears thus:



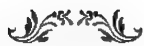
p. 52. Scrutiny of Folger MS V.b.26(2) suggests that despite the presence of a blank space no figure is actually missing from this page. However, it is clear from the text that the diagram reproduced at the head of p. 54 relates to the experiment on pp. 52-53.

p. 53, line 14. The Hockley MS is missing text. After: “(N) by these three words add “+ tetragrammaton + anatemate + anatematevethe + and by all that be together to these 3 words.”

A Book of the Offices of Spirits

The Occult Virtue of Plants and
Some Rare Magical Charms & Spells
Transcribed from a Folio Manuscript
on Magic & Necromancy

Written by John Porter, 1583.



A
Book of the
Offices and Orders of Spirits

Offices and Order of Spirits

There be four Kings of the Air:
Urience, King of the East.³
Paymon, King of the West.
Amaymon, King of the South.
Egine, King of the North.

And there be three Devils in the art of Necromancy, viz: Lucifer, Beelzebub, and Satan.

- 1 Lucifer is the father of all Devils. He may not be called, for he is in the depth of Hell, yet by Tanta Valerion other devils may be conjured and bound, for all devils do reverence and worship this devil Lucifer, and that with a kind of majesty they all do obey him, for so hath God ordained and appointed them.
- 2 The second is Beel — the which is Beelzebub, and he is the Prince of Devils. This Beel, before the time of Solomon was thought to be the God Charon⁴ whose idol was worshipped, and he was of the Order of Cherubim, and 1,000,000 devils and wicked spirits minister unto him, he appeareth very beautiful and giveth to the Master that calleth him Gold and Silver, and maketh him expert in science, he appeareth well for half an hour and giveth of each demand a true answer, he giveth a servant or familiar who shall be in service very dutiful during a man's life, he hath one proper invocation by which he shall be called, otherwise he hath been wont to slay the master conjuror, and that in his circle, unless he did suffumigate himself well, and that with amber, aloes, wood and mastic, and he must be called toward the East, wherein he must be urged to do his office and duty.

³ An adjacent note reads "Old MS p. 73."

⁴ In Greek legend the god Charon would ferry the deceased across the river Styx (or Acheron) and into the underworld.

3. The third devil or spirit is called Satan, the which was of the Order and Throne of Cherubim, who that likewise after 1200 years intendeth to come again and possess his former place (which is not to be believed).⁵ He is wont to ask of the Master Conjuror that he would with Solomon pray the Creator that he may come to his throne again, but he that is Master shall say that he fell not of his own will and for that cause abideth in air, and is not cast into Hell, but let the Master take good heed that he do not obey him in his request, and when the Master will depart with him, let him say, "I beseech my God that if it be given to thee, by him, and that from above, that thou mayest again be restored to thy former place or throne, so be it." Note that Satan abideth in an obscure air,⁶ and that the 4 Princes or 4 Kings, unto which King's power is given to hurd the land, the seas, the trees, and they be of the Orient. These four Kings are Orience, Paymon, Amaymon, and Egine. Satan knoweth the virtue of these Kings, and it was he that tempted our fathers in the desert or wilderness, making them disobedient to God's will. He hath power to kill, to destroy, to make blind, and to do many mischiefs. God defend us. Amen.
4. Orience, King, appeareth with 100 or 200 Legions, and that with a fair feminine countenance and a goodly crown upon his head, he rideth upon an elephant, having before him showmen and much minstrelry of diverse instruments, and when he is called, he cometh with other great kings, but note, if he be called alone, he appeareth in the shape of a horse (that is of the throne, having of a horse the very shape) and when he is sacrificed unto or offered unto he taketh such a shape as the Master wills, and he doth willingly receive the sacrifice or offering he giveth willingly, and answer to all demands and questions. He telleth the truth of things past, present, and to come, and if he be angry he will vex all that do not sacrifice unto him, except that he that do give money, and teach sciences, and then he is compelled, and that by divine power, to the contrary. He hath power to consecrate books, and he knoweth all experiments and hath power to teach them, and there is a King under him whose name is Baal and his office is to teach a man all manner of

⁵. The span of 1200 years is a theme repeated in multiple spirits of *Goetia* as well.

⁶. Another manuscript has "gas". Sloane 3824 gives "abideth obscurely in the air."

Sciences, and he maketh a man to go in invisible and he hath under him 250 Legions, yet at the first you must constrain a spirit called Temell, who is the messenger of the East thus:

I conjure thee, and that by the living God, and by the blessed Virgin, Marie, mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the thrones of Angels, and by the blessed apostles, and by the Saints of God, that now presently and without any delay or tarrying the same spirit which is called Temell, that thou make or cause to appear and obey unto my will and do my commandments, and that with all speed. So be it.

- 7 Amaymon is King of the South, and great and mighty, and he appeareth in the likeness of an old man, with a great beard, his ears like unto a horse's ears, he hath a bright crown on his head, and he rideth upon a fierce lion roaring, and he taketh a rod in his hand, and his ministers go before him with all manner of instruments and music, and he cometh with other three Kings, and he gladly doth receive sacrifices and burnt offerings and gifts, he maketh answer to all things, and maketh a man wonderful cunning and expert in philosophy, and with *Ars Notoria*,⁷ and he giveth the best acquaintance with nobility, and confirmeth the doing thereof in dignity and promotion, he may well be kept in obedience one hour, during which time he may be used, but let the master turn unto the South to receive him, and that gently and with pleasantness, and declare unto him the thing thou wouldst have taken in hand, and hold thou thy Ring⁸ upon thy face, and he will do thy will, and call thou him in a fair air or day, and look that thou have the Ring of Solomon, and the Stole, the ansipiter, or Coronoper, in cometh in all manners in visibility, and a great company with him, and there be kings, Emelon, Ocar, Cydaton, and Madycon, these Kings be messengers to the King of the South, to whom shall be said,

i The *Ars Notoria*, or Notary Art, is one of the five books that comprise *The Lesser Key of Solomon*.

ii The form and use of the Ring of Solomon is attested in a number of manuscripts on magic, though each tends to differ in both form and function.

I conjure you now by God and by Saint Mary, his son Christ's mother, and by the thrones and quiers of Angels, and by the death and passions of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and by Moses, Ely, Enoch and David, and by holy Sem, Noe, & Lot, and by Elizabeth, Catherine and Margaret, and by all the Prophets, Esay, Jeremie, Ezekiel, Daniel, Abacuk, Zachary, Malachi, Sophoni, Joell, and Abdy⁹ that now shortly with[out] any tarrying, you cause the same spirit, Emlon, that he shortly and speedily come to me, obey me, and fulfill my will and desire. I charge and command you by our Lord Jesus Christ, that you yield him to me, and that without any delay or tarrying.

'This when he cometh may tarry from 12 at noon till midnight.

6. Paymon, King, he appeareth, and speaketh with a hoarse voice, and he being called is more obedient to the will of Lucifer than any of the other kings be, and [if] thou compel him by divine power, then he appeareth in the likeness of a Soldier, yet when that he cometh to the presence of the master he maketh variance still, he rideth upon a Dromedary or a camel, and crowned with a bright crown, and hath the countenance of a woman, and before him goeth a band of men, and that with trumpets and all kind of instruments, and Paymon himself speaketh with his [native] tongue, yet the master shall cast to him a paper wherein it is written that he shall speak plainly and definitely, that the master may understand what he sayeth, and so then he will, and there is Belferth, the messenger of the King of the West, and there is Belial, a King, and Baasan, a King, and they do make a man to go invisible, and Rombalance or Rombalane. These may appear from the third hour to the 12th hour following. Then say,

And thou Alphasis, I conjure, and that by the most meek Lord, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by the Spear that clove his heart asunder, and that to the redemption of all mankind, and by the nails that fixed his blessed hands and feet, and by all the Virtues of God, and by all the holy names of God,

9. ... Moses, Eli, Enoch and David, and by Holy Shem, Noah, & Lot, and by Elizabeth, Catherine, and Margaret, and by all the Prophets, Esau, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Habakuk, Zachary, Malachai, Zephaniah, Joel, and Obadiah...

*Agias*¹⁰ + *Yskiros*¹¹ + *Athanatos* + *Otheos* + *Alpha* + and *Omega* + *Agla* + *El* + *Tetragrammaton* + *that now shortly and without tarrying, this same spirit Alphasis, to be here ready, and to do all that I here shall command them to do for me, [N], and that you now do here yield him unto me, and that without delay or long tarrying, to fulfill my petition and desire. So be it.*

1. Igin is King of the North and appeareth in the likeness of a man, and his face is very clear, his nostrils are very sharp like a sword, and out of his mouth cometh flames of fire, and he rideth upon a Dragon, and he is crowned with a crown of Precious stones, and in his cheeks he beareth two tusks, and he beareth on his right side two hissing serpents shining, and he cometh with a great noise and clamor, before him go sundry kinds of musical Instruments, and sweet Organs, and he teacheth perfectly all music and singing, and the Art Notoria and the Art Nigromancy and the Art Memoratina, and he speaketh of and in divers parts of the world, and of things to come, past and present, and of certain secret and hid things, and of the being and comparing of this world, and what the Earth is, and whether the water may sustain the earth, or the earth the water, and he telleth what a bottomless pit is, commonly called Abyssus, and where it is, and what the wind is, and from whence it cometh, and he giveth very good acquaintance, and Dignities, fellowships, and confirmeth the same, and maketh consecration of books, and other things, and giveth true answers of all questions and demands, and thou must look to the North when thou callest him, and so soon as he appeareth shew him the Seal of Solomon and his Ring, and forthwith he will fall down to the earth and worship the Master, and then the master shall take and thank him therefore, and he hath 12,000 Legions, and he causeth a man to win at all manner of games, and Rodabel, or Radabelles, be the messenger of the King of the North.

(Oh thou Lambricon or Lambracaron, King of the North, &c. (the [which] may come from midnight to the morning) I conjure thee, and that by the meek Lord Jesus Christ, and by him who hath made of naught all the

10 Hagios.

11 Ischuros.

world, and all and everything therein, and Marie Magdalen, and by the virgin Saint Katherine, who slew Riophon your brother, and by the crown of thorns that our Saviour Jesus Christ had upon his head, and by the spear that he was pierced with to the heart, and by the nails wherewith his blessed hands and feet were nailed to the Cross of the tree, and by the precious names *La + Ya + Gala + Layagom + ulba + Garahitom + Laram + Saryni + Lassa + Joratom + La + Ya + Lasary* + that you now and that without any delay or tarrying that this spirit by name Rodobel or Radabelles, now be here ready and obedient to all my will, and that now herein you obey me, and that without any tarrying.

Then say the Conjunction that to the four kings doth appertain. Begin *Time conjuro istos 4 nuntius, sine timere sic dicendo, O Temell, Alphassus, Emlon, Rodabell, I conjure, &c.* as is aforesaid.¹²

8. Tersone is a King, and appeareth in the likeness of a man, having the face of a lion, and he hath 40 playing before him, with trumpets and other instruments, and he knoweth all things past, present and to come, and he knoweth all places where any treasure is hid, and sheweth it willingly, and desireth sacrifice, and that is of a brazen image, and he hath under him 72 legions.
9. Elyeth, a King and a great ruler, he appeareth with a crown or a diadem, and there is nothing seen of him but his head, and he cometh with ministers afore him, and he teacheth what spirits be best for familiars, and giveth true answers. He hath under him 80 legions.
10. Harchase is a great King, and appeareth like a fierce bear, and he maketh a man to go invisible, and sheweth all places where treasure is hid, and he hath under him 26 legions.
11. Gorsyar is a King, and appeareth having a lion's face, and he is crowned with a diadem, and bearing in his hand a fiery viper, and he rideth on a bear, and before him cometh trumpets, and he knoweth all things, and

12. "Then bind by oath these four messengers, without fear speaking as follows: O Temell Alphassus, Emlon, Rodabell..."

where treasures be, and he will willingly appear and answer to all things secret and secret questions, and of hid things, and he hath under him 6 Legions of Spirits.

12. Skor is a great King and appeareth like a curlew, and he doth fetch money out of Kings' houses, or out of any house or place, and he will carry it there as thou commandest him, for he is true and faithful, and that in all his doings that he is commanded, and he hath under him 10 legions

13. Garson, Rex. He appeareth like a man, and he knoweth things, past, present and to come, and he telleth where is treasure hid, and he giveth true answers, and that of things, that be secret and divine, and of Deity, and of the creation of the world, and he hath under him 7 legions.

14. Tamon, a great King, he appeareth like a goat, he teacheth to find treasures that are hid in the earth, and to find precious stones and to find minerals, and hid money, and he speaketh foully, and ill favouredly, and 'without discretion, unless that he be constrained to the contrary thereof, and he hath under him 50 legions.

15. Darbas or Carbas, a great Prince or King, he appeareth like a fierce lion, yet when he cometh before him that calleth him, he taketh upon him the form of a man and giveth true answers of secret and hid things, and teacheth to heal sick people, and he excelleth in teaching of nigromancy, 'and he causeth [one] to be changed, and that from his right physiognomy, and he hath under him 26 legions .

16. Ogys great prince, appeareth like a viper, having teeth and two great horns, and having a sharp sword in his hand, and he giveth true answers, and that of all things that is demanded of him, and he hath under him 35 legions

17. 'There is one Skor,¹³ a great prince. He appeareth like a dog, and hath a strange voice, and he is marvelous in his working, for he will take away the enemies' sight, the which is against the Caller, and he will bring money out of Kings' treasures, and out of other places if he thereto be commanded, and he fetcheth and carryeth all things, and is very faithful in all his doings, and namely to his caller, and he hath under him 46 legions.
18. Drewchall is a great Prince or King, and his office is to win Gold, and to cast them that keepeth it into sleep, and he maketh to appear a great army of men in Armour in the Field, and he himself appeareth like a great hart with horns, and he hath under him 36 legions.
19. Giloolas, a great King or Prince, he appeareth like a dog having wings, and he is the chief leader of murderers, and knoweth things past, present, and to come, and he giveth knowledge of friends and enemies, and maketh a man to go invisible so long as the caller or master will, and hath under him 20 legions.
20. Forcase, a great prince, he appeareth like a great man, and he knoweth the virtue of all herbs, and also of stones, and he giveth again the sight that was lost, and he telleth the places of treasures, and giveth true answers, and hath under him 10 legions.
21. Coolor,¹⁴ a great prince, he appeareth like a child, and he hath with him wings like to a goshawk, and he rideth upon a dragon that hath two heads, and he giveth true answers for hid treasures.¹⁵
22. Kewboo, a great prince, he appeareth like a knight, and he giveth true answers of things that he is demanded of, and he giveth him that calleth him gold and silver, and he hath under him 29 legions.

13. This appears to be a duplicate of spirit number twelve, listed under the same name with a variant description.

14. This appears to be a duplicate of Doolas, spirit number 25.

15. The manuscript does not indicate the number of legions under the control of Coolor, however, Valac, a spirit from *Goetia*, has exactly the same description and is said to have 40 legions.

23. Hanar, a great prince, he appeareth in a flame of fire, and he will take on the form of a man. He is cunning in astronomy, and telleth where treasures be that be kept by spirits, how many they be, and what they be, and he giveth favour to the master, and under him be 8 legions.
24. Hooab, a Prince of great magnitude, he appeareth like a blackbird, yet when he taketh the shape of a man, then he is a leader of women, and he maketh them to burn in love of men, and if he be commanded, he maketh them to turn into another shape while that the men and them may come together, and he hath under him 26 legions.
25. Doolas,¹⁶ a great Prince, he appeareth like a child and wings like an angel, he rideth upon a dragon having two heads and giveth true answers of hid treasure and keepeth all treasure where serpents or snakes¹⁷ be seen to appear, and he giveth and appointeth the place where treasure is to all spirits to keep, and he giveth a man all manner of household spirits, and without him none can do it, and he giveth to the master all manner of serpents, and he hath under him 20 legions.
26. Formecones is a great Prince and appeareth like a bowle,¹⁸ and when the master will, he taketh the form of a man and he maketh one marvelous cunning in astronomy and in all other liberal sciences, and he giveth the master wisdom, and he knoweth best the virtues of herbs and stones, and he bringeth lunary and precious stones, and he hath under him 36 legions.
27. Tamor or Chamor,¹⁹ a Prince, he appeareth in a fiery flame, and deluding the Light, and so blindeth the lookers-on, and that with notable delay, and when he is compelled to take the form of a man, he is excellent in astronomy, and in all other liberal arts, and he giveth the best acquaintance and favor of great men and princes, and he telleth places where treasure is that be not kept with spirits, and under him is 34 legions.

16. This appears to be a duplicate of Coolor, spirit number 21.

17. The Hockley MS has "drakes" but the anonymous MS has "snakes," which seems more appropriate.

18. Bull.

19. This is an interesting confusion of names, as the Hebrew letters for Tau (T) and Cheth (Ch) are very similar, indicating the possibility that the name has a Hebrew origin.

28. Lewteffar or Falcas, a great Prince, he appeareth like a monster, and he speaketh homely and he healeth all sickness and disease, and he maketh one to seem as though he were mad, and one to rise against another, and in 5 days he teacheth one every part that is of nigromancy, and he knoweth every part of free love, and he enticeth women most to pride. He is a liar and he will not confess himself to be Abarak. He saith that he is one of the four kings. First, he desireth sacrifice, and he telleth of goodly things, and he fetcheth treasure or money, and he rideth upon a fiery Dragon, and he hath starry eyes and an head of a devil, the tail of a viper, the hand[s] of a bear, and the feet of a mole, and he speaketh of great things, and his breast is open, and his breath stinketh and his breath is fiery, and he is crowned with a rainbow, and he looketh downward, and he loveth music, and he appeareth in the 7th hour, and he carrieth always in his forehead an eye, and first he appeareth and that laughing, and be he vexed then he is very desperate, and he never entereth into running water, and his voice is very hoarse & he doth make a man skillful in Astronomy and Astrologie, and in Geomancie and in all other liberal sciences, and getteth men the love of women, and giveth dignity and promotion, and confirmeth it and many other things, he fetcheth money or gold from any place he is appointed and bringeth it any whither the master will command him, and hath under him 20 legions.
29. Dyclagoo, a great Prince, he appeareth like a beautiful angel and is very trusty in all things he is entrusted by the master, and he maketh one invisible, and he maketh one to transform themselves and willingly, he giveth the love of women, and telleth the places of hid treasures, and giveth favour of friends and enemies, and under him he hath 20 legions.
30. Barbaryes, a great Prince, he appeareth like an armed soldier, and he beareth in his hand a spear with a banner, and he getteth best friends and that to withstand the enemies of the master, and he causeth the enemies to lose their sight, their hearing, and their strength, and if it please the master it shall be so, and he maketh one wise and bold, and he hath under him 50 legions.

11. Porax, a great and strong prince, he appeareth like an angel, and yet black and very dark, and he hath power in building of places and houses, and in discovering of lands, woods and waters, and in the planting of fruit trees, and in sowing of seed, and he knoweth the virtue of herbs, and teacheth to still waters, and he hath under him 9 legions.
12. Acharos or Aharus, a Duke, and he is under the King of the East. He appeareth willingly like an old man, and his office is to teach all languages, and he causeth them that be run away to come again, and under him are 29 legions.
13. Amada, a Duke, he appeareth like a monstrous beast, he giveth true answers of things past, present, and to come, and hath under him 42 legions.
14. Barton is a great Duke, he appeareth like a great bear having a dragon's tail, and he is very expert in the virtue of herbs and precious stones, and will carry one from region to region, and that swiftly and safe, and hath under him 30 legions.
15. Allogor, a Duke, appeareth like a fair knight and beareth in his hand a spear with a banner, and giveth true answer, and he opineth all doubts, and showeth how they may be brought to pass, and what shall happen and under him he hath 30 legions.
16. Globa, a Duke, he appeareth like a man, he is the chiefest ruler of women, and maketh them to burn in love for men, and he maketh women to be barren and to have no children, and he hath under him 20 legions.
17. Marshiones, a Duke, he appeareth like unto a strong man, having a serpent's tail, and he is expert in herbs and stones, and he will carry one from country to country, and that swiftly and without hurt, and he hath under him 30 legions.

38. Bartyⁿ,²⁰ a strong Duke, he appeareth like a bear, and knoweth herbs and stones, and will carry one quickly where he will be, and hath under him 20 legions.
39. Kayne, a Duke, appeareth like a raven, and after to take the form of a man, and counselor to steal, and doth carry treasures from kings' houses and doth leave it where the master will, and he giveth favor both of friends and enemies, and hath under him 20 legions.
40. Rewsyn, a Duke, appeareth like a beautiful woman, he knoweth things past, present and to come, and he causeth one that after he is out of this world, then he causeth one of his ministers to enter into his body and to speak with one of his kind, or with any other, and he hath under him 10 legions.
41. Gemyem, a strong Duke, appeareth like a fair woman, and crowned with the crown of a Duchess, and rideth on a camel, and giveth true answers of things past, present, and to come, and of hid treasures, and the which places, do appear half woman, and he is a prince, and a companion of the love of women, and especially of maidens, and under him are 42 legions.
42. Triblex, a great Duke and a Marquis, appeareth like an angel, he is both meek and true, and that in all commandments of the master, and therefore he is called Triblex,²¹ and he is more mighty, and he hath under him 6 legions.
43. Loonex, a great Earl, appeareth like a cruel bear, and by the master he taketh the shape of a man, and he giveth the understanding of voices, and that of all creatures, and all wild beasts, and teacheth all manner of languages, and to understand them, and that [which] is past present and to come, and he will declare where treasures be, and hath under him 18 legions.

20. This appears to duplicate some of the attributes of spirit number 34, Barton.

21. Triblex is presumably a misspelling of the aforementioned Triblex, or vice versa.

14. Moyle, a great Marquis, and appeareth like a lion, and hath wings like a griffon, and when the master will he taketh the form of a man, and he maketh one witty and perfect in all sciences, and giveth victory over enemies, and in feats of arms maketh one expert, and giveth favor of great men, and giveth true answers of things secret, and he hath under him 14 legions.
15. Geyll, a great Earl, and appeareth like an Elephant, and taketh the form of a man, and speaketh with a hoarse voice, and ruleth all wild beasts, and willingly he giveth of them to the master, and fetcheth gold and that from any place the master will, and conveyeth it where the master will command him, and leaveth it for the master, and he giveth the best acquaintance and dignities and confirmeth it, and hath under him 50 legions.
16. Deydo or Deyoo, a great Earl, and appeareth like a child, he maketh trees to flourish and to grow green, and that out of time, and he maketh a man perfect in all the liberal sciences, and in the mathematical science, and giveth the understanding of all languages and causeth a man to speak them well and perfectly, and hath under him 414 legions.
17. Sogan or Sogom, a great Marquis, appeareth like a pale horse, and speaketh with a hoarse voice, and putteth souls out of the place of pain which some call Purgatory, and he is free and appeareth in what shape the master will, and answereth truly and desireth a sacrifice and rejoiceth therein, and he teacheth the mathematical science marvelously, he instructeth in Wisdom and Philosophy, and maketh the souls of the dead to appear before the master, and namely the souls that are nigh to the waterside or seas, and that in a certain Purgatorie which is called the lawful affliction of Souls, and what souls soever shall appear before the master, they shall come in the shape of airy bodies, and obediently appearing in the form they first had, and they have power to answer questions, and that in the presence of the master, and he hath under him 36 legions.

48. Royne, a great earl, and he appeareth like a soldier, and he continually procureth venery and that between a man and his wife, and his face is like a lion, and he rideth upon a black horse, and dividing a snake with his arm or arms, and he buildeth great towers, and that willingly, and houses and bulwarks of war, and he destroyeth enemies and their houses, and consecrateth books and other things, and telleth of hid treasures and secrets, under him are 26 legions.
49. Sowrges, a great Marquis, and governeth in the parts of Africa, and teacheth best grammar, logic, rhetoric, and divinity, and telleth the places of treasures and openeth the same to the master, and he maketh one to pass the seas, waters, and floods safe, in a privy safeguard, and that in a most swift course, he maketh a man to ride in the same journeys upon what him list, whether he will in a ship, or a horse, or boat, and he himself appeareth like a knight riding on a horse and that with three heads, one like a horse, one like a bird, one like a fish, and hath under him 26 legions.
50. Bryman or Mycioron, a great Earl, appeareth like a goose, he speaketh with a very pleasant speech, and is most excellent in stones, herbs, and of flowers, fishes, birds, beasts, and in metals, woods²² and waters, and he maketh one invisible, and that from time to time, and he causeth men to sleep continually, and that till they die, and desireth a sacrifice, and hath under him 30 legions.
51. Barbates or Barbares, a Lord and a great Viscount, he appeareth like a shooter or forest man with four minstrels and bearing four trumpets, 1st of gold, 2nd of silver, 3rd of brass, 4th of ivory, he is the guide of many rulers, and truly teacheth to understand the barking of dogs, and the howling and crying of all other beasts, and he telleth of immeasurable treasures that he hid, and hath under him 29 legions.

22. The Hockley manuscript has "words," but the anonymous manuscript has "woods," which seems to be more appropriate in context.

52. Goorox, an earl, he appeareth like a bowle²³ and sometimes like a man. He hath great knowledge in astronomy and all manner of liberal sciences, and he knoweth the virtue of herbs and stones, and under him are 30 legions.
53. Barbares,²⁴ an earl, he appeareth like a Sagittary, or half a man and half a beast, and he sheweth the place where treasure is, and he hath 26 legions.
54. Annobath, a lord and governor, he appeareth like an armed knight and rideth upon a pale horse and is crowned with a double crown, and he beareth in his hand a warlike spear, and he teacheth the knowledge of nigromancy, geomancy, and chiromancy, and the art magic, and telleth who keepeth them, and how they may be come by, and he giveth true answers to the master, and hath under him 18 legions.
55. Gemmos, a strong lord, appeareth like a knight, his horse is red, and he speaketh with a strong voice, and teacheth how all metals may be turned into pure gold, and he knoweth the virtues of herbs and precious stones, and he teacheth physics, logic, and giveth true answers of things stolen, and he was of the order of Archangels, and therefore he is of the greater force, and hath under him 27 legions.
56. Ansoryor or Antyor, a lord, and appeareth like a warlike knight, riding upon a pale ass, and he beareth in his hand a viperous eagle, and he is very excellent in physic and necromancy, in pyromancy, and in hydro-macie, and in all arts, and giveth true answers of things past, present, and to come, and knoweth the natures and properties of herbs, stones, and trees, and giveth to one every liberal art, and that to the master, and him perfect therein in 7 days, and desireth sacrifice. And [if] thou bind him not well, he will decline the master, and hath under him 20 legions.

²³ Bull.

²⁴ The name of course repeats that of spirit number 51.

Noocar, a noble lord, and appeareth like an old man walking with a staff, and is obedient to the master, and willingly sheweth all things and the secret places of treasure, and the treasure which be kept under ♄ or ♀ or shall be made under the lot of other planets, and of all this he teacheth best the art of nigromancy, and it ought to be done under the fortitude of every planet and place, and he discerneth the force of herbs and precious stones and waters, and he loveth money, and he hath the tail of a viper and earthly feet and dirty hands and the voice of a screech owl, and he looketh ever toward heaven, and he will not tell the truth till the master compelleth him, and he hath 27 legions.

Boal or Boall, a great prelate, appeareth like a soldier, his head is like a lion, and he rideth on a black horse, and his eyes do shine like fire, and he speaketh with a hoarse voice, and hath great teeth like unto an ox, and he giveth the knowledge for to understand the barking of dogs, and he doth transpose gold and silver, and that from place to place, and telleth of secret hid things and under him is 44 legions.

Aron or Aran, a Lord, and he appeareth like a man and telleth of things past, present, and to come, and of secret hid things, and getteth favor both of friends and enemies, and getteth dignities and promotions of this world, and confirmeth the same, and that with his doings and sayings, and hath under him 45 legions.

Iambex, a marquis, a captain and a great governor, he appeareth like a woman and speaketh pleasantly, and he giveth the love of great men and of new men, and that willingly, and the master must make an image of wax, and in the forehead thereof to write that love overcome love, and thou do cause Iambex then to consecrate that image so written, thou shalt cause a man or woman to come where thou wilt, set that image for them to come to, and he hath under him 25 legions.

Fewrayne, a governor or marquis, appeareth like the countenance of a woman and seemeth to be meek and giveth love of women, and teacheth all tongues, and that marvelously and truly, and hath under him 9 legions.

62. Carmeryn, or Cayenam, a lord, and he appeareth like a beautiful woman, and crowned with a double crown, and rideth upon a camel, and telleth the truth of secret treasures, and especially where women be seen, and he is a prince thereof, and keeper of them, and hath under him 30 legions.
63. Mathias, a Lord, he appeareth like a bear, he casteth flames of fire out of his mouth, and his office is to carry a man from country to country, and he hath under him 36 legions.
64. Ioorex is a ruler, he appeareth like a hart, and speaketh with a small voice, and teacheth to make all manners of instruments of music, and teacheth astronomy, and causeth a man to win and that at all games, and if he be enclose[d] in a ring, and worn upon the forefinger, and hath under him 9 legions.
65. Pamelon, a great ruler, he appeareth like a man, he telleth of things that be in the water and things that be in the earth, and how to come by them, and he is good and that for the love of maidens, and hath under him 6 legions.
66. Mageyne, a ruler, he appeareth like a hedgehog, and is a very good companion, for he teacheth a man, and helpeth him in all manners of needful business, and namely in all manner of husbandry and occupations, and hath under him 20 legions.
67. Gasyaxe, is a great ruler and appeareth like a haw, and teacheth a man to enclose all manner of spirits, and how to conclude them that be for answers, and them that be for dicers and carders, shooting and bowling, and for the love of women, and how to make a glass that all men may see the truth therein of all such things as they are desirous of, and he teacheth how to have a true answer of all spirits, and if the master put him into the head of a dead man then he will teach all the art of nigromancy, magic and other sciences, and he hath under him of spirits 16 legions.
68. Barsy, a great ruler and a captain, he appeareth like an archer and bearing about a quiver and that of iron, and he is the beginner of wars, and he maketh men to shoot near the mark, and he hath great power thereto, and he hath under him 30 legions.

69. Bartax, is a ruler, and he appeareth like an old man, and his office is to tell where and in what place hidden treasure is, and who they be that keepeth it, and how it may be come by, and he hath under him 20 legions.
70. Usagoo, magnus petis, he appeareth like an angel, and is just and true in all his doings, he giveth the love of women and telleth of hid treasures and hath under him 20 legions.
71. Gycell, a great horseman, and appeareth like an elephant and speaketh with a hoarse voice and bringeth forth money out of every place, palace, or house, and will lay the same in what place by the master he is commanded, and he hath under him 7 legions.
72. Lyeonell, magnus Comes, he appeareth like a fierce bear and when the master will he appeareth like a child, and then he teacheth best all kind of languages and telleth where treasure is hid and hath under him 18 legions.
73. Gersone, magnus Comes, he appeareth like a man and a lyon's face, and crowned with a diadem, and holding in his hand, a viper, he hath an earthly body, and truly and willingly he telleth where the places be that treasure is kept, and under him 6 legions.
74. Pamelons,²⁵ or Paynelon, he appeareth like a knight, and he doth compel other spirits to come from the four corners of the world, and to appear before the master, and he giveth true answers of all things, and telleth of the unknown art, and hath under him 10 legions.
75. Gemon, a valiant captain, he appeareth like a fair woman, and crowned with a crown, and rideth upon a camel, and telleth of treasure hid, and of things past present and to come, and hath under him 5 legions.

²⁵. The name duplicates that of spirit number 65, although the descriptions differ significantly.

- /6. Ieban, a knight and a mighty soldier, he appeareth like a giant, and he carryeth men where they will, and doth all other things, whither the master will, and fetcheth the same out of any country, and that speedily and without delay, and at the master's commandment he will carry mountains, hills, and castles and so will do any manner of riches, and leave it where he is commanded by the master, and hath under him 40 legions.
- //. Doodal, a knight and a mighty soldier, he appeareth with a spear of gold in his hand, and he hath a power to gather together other spirits, and to take council with them, and that for things that have changed against a man, &c., and to know a remedy therefore, and that before, and he hath under him 6 legions.
- /8. Geenex, a knight, he appeareth like a valiant captain, and teacheth physic and the making of rings, out of which rings answers be given of spirits, and to make glasses wherein may be seen things lost or stolen, and he telleth how the truth of the answers of other spirits may be understood, and he appeareth and that soonest in a dead man's head, and most commonly he appeareth like a hare, and hath under him 20 legions.
- /9. Cornyx, he appeareth like a captain, and hath power to call together birds, and that to one place, and to take them, and he hath under him 4 legions.
- #0. Mosacus appeareth in the form of a giant with the snout of an elephant, and fiery eyes, and having two heads in his breast, the head on his right side a dog's head, and on the left breast the head of an ass, and in the midst of his two arms, and on every arm the head of two bloodhounds, and in his right hand a crook in compass of a sickle, but hath another as if were come forth of that, he that two eyes in the midst of his belly, and at his knees the heads of two blood hounds, his hands and feet like the feet of a goose, and being commanded he appeareth like a child with a red head, he giveth answers truly unto thy questions.

A BOOK OF THE OFFICES OF SPIRITS

Obeyryon, rex, he appeareth like a king with a crown on his head, and he is under the government of the sun and moon, and he teacheth a man knowledge in physic, and he showeth the nature of stones herbs and trees and all metals, and he is a great and mighty king, and he is king of the fairies, he causeth a man to be invisible, and he showeth where hidden treasure is, and how to obtain the same, he telleth of things past, present and to come, and if he be bound to a man, he will carry or bring treasure out of the same, his burden is £100,000, he holdeth the waters and low parts of the earth. ≈ ✕

Bilgall, appeareth in the likeness of an ox, but [with] a man's head, with flames of fire preceeding out of his mouth.

Queen of the Fairies

Myeob,²⁶ is queen of the fairies and is of the same office as that Oberyon is of, she appeareth in green, with a crown on her head, and is very meek and gentle, she showeth the nature of herbs, stones, and trees, she showeth the use of medicines, and the truth, she causeth the ring of invisibility to be given to the invocator.

Lillia +



Restillia +



Fata +



Falla



Afrid or Africa +



Julya +



Venalla +



These (be 7 sisters) is for to show and teach a man the nature of herbs, and to instruct a man in physic, also they will bring a man the ring of invisibility, they are under Myeob, the queen of fairies.

²⁶ A note in the margin of the Hockley manuscript reads "Theurgia MSS fo. 81," indicating that Hockley saw a connection between this particular passage and one in folio 81 of a manuscript entitled "Theurgia." Unfortunately I have not yet been able to identify the manuscript to which he referred. It was not, however, the "Art Theurgia Goetia," a well-known work that is derived largely from Trithemius' *Steganographia* and is included as the second book of the *Lesser Key of Solomon*.

Note²⁷ there be four kings of spirits of the air, the which have power and dominion of all spirits of the air, and all parts of the world, viz

Oriens. Paymon. Amaymon. & EGINE.

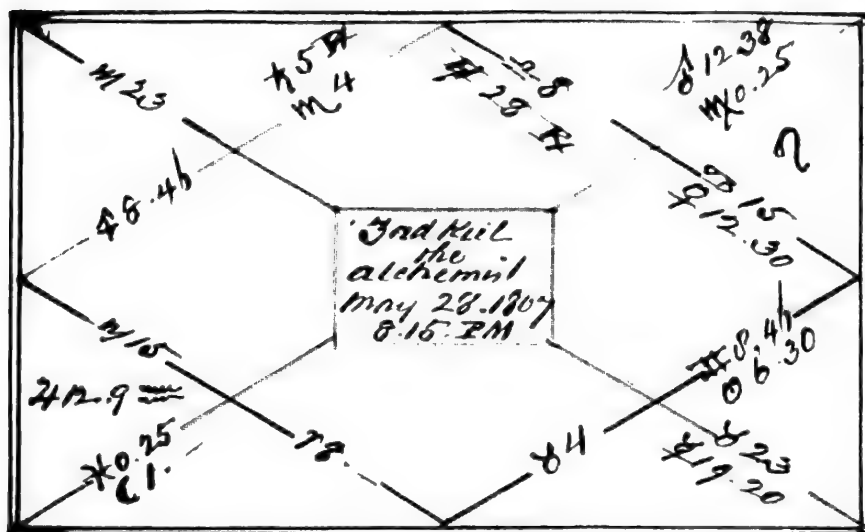
²⁷. A note in the margin reads "Theurgia fo. 81."

The First King

The first king [that] reigneth in the east, is called Oriens [sic] and he cometh in the likeness of a horse, with a 100 heads, or as some say with 5 heads, but if thou call him with his company, he appeareth with a fair favor and as a woman, riding upon an Elephant and all manner of minstrels before him, he can tell all things past present and to come, he can give any science earthly and earthly treasure, and he hath under him spirits innumerable, of which 12 of the best and most principal are these.

1. Baall, he hath of the love both of men and women, and maketh a man invisible and appeareth in the likeness of a king, and speaketh hoarsely.
2. The 2nd is called Agaros, he can teach all manner of languages and tongues, he can bring again a fugitive or one run away, and he can promote to dignity and worship and appeareth in the likeness of an old man, riding on a cockatrice.
3. The 3rd is Barbas or Corbas he can tell of all secrets to make an old man sick, and to change a man into another shape, the shape of a beast, he appeareth in the likeness of a man.
4. The 4th is called Star, and he hath power to take from a man, hearing, seeing and understanding, and to bring money whither he is commanded, he is a good and a true spirit, he appeareth in the likeness of a swan and speaketh hoarsely.
5. The 5th is called Semp, he hath power to make a great sea appear full of ships, with all manners of instruments of war to fear enemies, he can make great winds, he can rankle wounds and make worms appear in them, and appeareth in the likeness of a maiden.
6. The 6th is called Algor, he hath power to tell all secrets, and to give love and favor of kings princes and lords, and appeareth in likeness of a fair knight with shield.

From "The Familiar Astrologer" 8vo. London, 1831, page 715.



Nov 11, 1831. Robert C. Smith (Raphael) in the last leaf of his last work gave the horoscope without comment of Mr. John Palmer ["Zadkiel"], who was destined so soon afterwards to succeed him in his business as an Astrologer and also as Editor of the 'Prophetic Messenger.'

With 3 malefics above the Earth, although possessed of good abilities and fair prospects, upon the direction of ♄ to the M.C.,¹ he sank irretrievably lost.

¹ Medium Coeli – midheaven.

² This horoscope was clearly not in Porter's original manuscript, but was added by Palmer or another (see Introduction). It is included here as it appears in both the Hockley and the anonymous transcriptions.

7. 'The 7th is called Seson and he can tell all things that have ever been, or ever shall be, and hath power to show the place of hid treasure, and to make familiar with every man, he appeareth with a lion's face crowned with a diadem, having a venomous serpent in his hand, and rideth upon a wild boar, nevertheless he will gladly take a body of the air and appear in likeness of a man.
8. 'The 8th is called Maxayn, he hath power to teach the virtues of all herbs, trees, and stones, and to bear a man from region to region in a brief time, he appeareth in likeness of a bear, with a serpent's tail and a flame of fire coming forth of his mouth.
9. 'The 9th is called Neophon, he hath power to tell of all things that hath been or shall be, and of all secrets, he giveth the favour of great men, and appeaseth the inimities of foes, he giveth dignity and worship and riches, and appeareth like a dog.
10. 'The 10th is called Barbais, he can teach one to understand the chattering of birds, barking of dogs, and lowing of beasts, he telleth of hid treasures, foredoeth witchcraft and appeareth in the likeness of a wild archer.
11. 'The 11th is Amon, he hath power to make wild beasts tame, and tell all secrets, to get love of friends and enemies, he appeareth in the likeness of a wolf, with a serpent's tail, casting fire out of his mouth, but he may appear in the likeness of a man, and then he hath teeth like a dog.
12. 'The 12th is called Suffales, he hath power to break peace and cause debates strife and battail, he is false in his answers, but if he be constrained strongly, he appeareth like a spark of Fire.

End of the First King.

The Second King

Amaymon,²⁸ the second king reigneth in the south, and all spirits in the south part of the world to him are obedient, his power is to give true answers of all things, and he giveth familiarities dignities and riches and by God's permission he hath power to consecrate books, and he appeareth in the likeness of an old man, having a long beard, and long hair hanging over his eyes, crowned with a bright crown, and he rideth upon a ramping lyon, and in his right hand he beareth a dart, before him cometh dansers, and all manner of minstrels, and he bringeth with him spirits innumerable, of whom 12 of the most noble are these that followeth, but of all spirits in the world beware of him for he is very perilous.

1. The 1st is called Asmoday, he can teach Astronomy, Arithmetic, Music and Geometry, and to tell of all things, be it ever so obscure, he can cause one to go invisible, and can shew the place where treasure is hid, and appeareth with three heads, one like an ass, the second like a bull, the third like a ram, his tail is like a serpent, his feet like an ass, and a flame of fire cometh out of his mouth.
2. The 2nd is called Byleth, he can teach the arts liberal, he can make consecrations as well evil as good, he teacheth invisibility.
3. The 3rd is called Astaroth, he can teach the seven arts liberal, and give true answers of all things past present and to come, he appeareth very horribly riding upon an infernal dragon bearing a serpent in his hand, out of whose mouth cometh a great sting,²⁹ therefore suffer him not to come within your circle, for he is perilous and will put you in danger.
4. The 4th is called Abech, he teacheth the 7 sciences and all manner of languages, getteth friendship, giveth true answers of all things, and appeareth like an Old King, but you shall see nothing of him but his head, and before him cometh trumpeters.

²⁸ An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS fo. 83."

²⁹ This was very likely a mistranscription of the word "stink," as many of the spirits are supposed to possess injurious "stinking breath" that may harm the magician. The description of this spirit in *Goetia* includes this warning.

5. 'The 5th is called Berith, he giveth dignity, he turneth metals into gold and silver, he call tell all things past, &c., he appeareth like a knight riding upon a red horse, crowned with two red crowns, he speaketh [not] clearly unless he be mastered and well constrained.
6. 'The 6th is called Mallapar, he maketh castles and towers, he can subvert and overthrow all manner of buildings and edifices, he appeareth in likeness of a raven, nevertheless he may appear by constraint in the likeness of a man, his speech is hoarse.
7. 'The 7th is Partas, and when he receiveth the shape of a man, he hath power to tell the virtues of herbs and stones, to teach logic, to make one invisible, to restore to a man that has lost his sight the same again, to show the place of hid treasure, and appeareth like a wood bear.
8. 'The 8th is called Busin, he answereth truly to all manner of questions, he can bring dead bodies from one place to another, and to make use of his spirits to enter into the body and to carry it about and to speak and go at commandment, and to all manner of things done by the dead, when he was living, except eating, he appeareth in the likeness of a fair woman, but he speaketh hoarsely.
9. 'The 9th is called Oze, and he hath power when he receiveth the shape of a man to teach the 7 arts liberal, and to tell all secrets, and to change men to another shape, and he appeareth in the likeness of a Leopard.
10. 'The 10th is Pathyn, and he hath power to make a man wise, and to tell secrets, he appeareth with 3 heads bearing a serpent in his hand and a pin of burning iron in his mouth, with the which point he may burn anything he is commanded to burn.
11. 'The 11th is Cambra, he hath power to teach the virtue of herbs and stones, and to make any bird tame, and appeareth like a Swan.
12. 'The 12th is called Gamor, when he receiveth man's shape, he can marvelously inform thee in Astronomy and all the rest of the Sciences, he can inform thee to have the favor of great estates, and can shew the treasure hid, and what the spirits be that keep the same, and he appears as a spark of fire

End of the Second King.

The Third King

The third king is called Paymon, he is of great power and mighty and willingly answereth all things, which may be required of him, he will speak of the state of the world and he may give familiarity, and he may make all fishes of the sea to be obedient, he appeareth like a king with a woman's face, crowned with a bright crown, he rideth on a Dromedary and after him cometh a great company of all spirits with all manner of instruments of melody, but if he be called alone then he appeareth with 2 kings and speaketh mystically for he could not be understood, nevertheless thou mayest command him to speak in thine own language, he hath [an] Infinity of spirits under him, but 12 of the mightiest be these.

- 1 The 1st is called Beliall, he giveth dignity and promotion, and he giveth love and favor of all persons, he appeareth in the likeness of a fair angel, and speaketh sweetly.
- 2 The 2nd is called Barson, he maketh one invisible and wise, and will answer to all questions, he appeareth with three heads, one like a dog, one like a man, and one like a raven.
- 3 The 3rd is Gordosar, he can tell the truth of all things, &c., and he is right mighty in the errandes doing, he appeareth like a good angel having a dark face.
- 4 The 4th is Batath, his office is to make whole men sick, and to take from a man his senses or wit, he maketh a man marvelous cunning in the 7 liberal sciences. He may give love and dignity to all men, he can carry from one place to another and appeareth like a misshapen Image and speaketh hoarsely.
- 5 The 5th is called Mistalas, he receiving man's shape hath power to instruct one in witchcraft and Nicromancie, and knoweth the virtues of herbs, stones and trees, and appeareth like a night raven.

The 6th is Lechor, he knoweth the secrets of the 7 sciences, he getteth friendship, and appeareth like a knight with a red lion's face, and he speaketh very sadly.

The 7th is called Saygayne or Laygayne, and when he receiveth man's shape, he giveth wisdom, turneth earth into any kind of metal, also he can turn water into wine, and of a fool make a wise man, and appeareth like a wild bull.

The 8th is called Caleos, he hath power and knowledge of infinite treasure, he maketh one beloved and purchaseth familiarity, he appeareth like a knight riding upon a cockatrice or crocodile, and he weareth on his head 2 crowns, but he is very false in his answers unless he be well constrained and mastered.

The 9th is Cagyne or Cogin, he hath power being in human shape, to bring any soul not being in heavenly or infernal power, to speak with thee. He appears in likeness of a Pale Horse.

The 10th is called Suchay, he can teach all manner of languages, and so carry one in short space from one place to another, he giveth the love of women, and is in that the most principal, and especially widows. He appeareth with a fair face like a woman.

The 11th is Reyall, who having human shape can resolve all doubts and tell all things, he can give love of [a] woman, get friends, and turn the hearts of enemies, he appeareth like a Dromedary, and speaketh sadly.

The 12th is called Layme, he can bring money from any place he will, or is assigned unto him, and to carry the same to any appointed place, he can in a moment, show the building or Situation of any Plot, City or castle, he can procure dignity and honors, he cometh like a raven.

The Fourth King

The 4th King is called Egin and he reigneth in the North and hath power to teach all manner of sciences, and will gladly tell all secrets, and the truth of anything past present or to come, he getteth friendships and raiseth one to dignity, he can make alterations of things, he appeareth in the likeness of a man with a bright face, crowned with a crown, and he rideth upon a dragon, and cometh with a fearful noise, and before him cometh divers sorts of instruments, but being called alone, he bringeth with him 3 kings, and comes not so hastily nor so dreadfully as others, also he hath with him infinite spirits of which these 12 are chieftest.

1. The 1st is called Ozia, he can teach all manner of arts or sciences, invisibility, and give favour of enemies, he can carry one from one place to another, and that upon a sudden, he appeareth like an old man riding on an Elephant.
2. The 2nd is Uriell or Uriall, he turneth one metal into another, as Iron or brass into gold and silver, wine to water or water to wine, of a fool maketh one wise, and maketh one to go invisible, and he appeareth like a Boisterous King, and speaketh hoarsely.
3. The 3rd is Usagoo, who taking human form hath power to make one wise and invisible, and to change man into another form or likeness, he getteth love and favor of all men, and giveth true answers of all things, he appeareth like an angel and is right true and faithful in all his doings.
4. The 4th is Synoryell, and having human shape, teacheth to understand beasts lowing, birds chirping, and dogs barking, and all manner of languages, and can tell all things, and can show the places of hid treasure and cometh like a wood bear.
5. The 5th is Tessian, he teacheth astronomy and arithmetic, and giveth true answers of secret things, and speaketh hoarsely.

The 6th is Goyle, he maketh a man gorgeous and gay, to have the love and favor of princes, he answereth to all questions, and appeareth like a ramping lion.

The 7th [is] Auras. He hath power to carry dead Corpses wither they be appointed, and with answers to all questions, and appeareth in the likeness of a wild Ape.

The 8th is Othey and he can upon a sudden make castles, towers, and townes, he answereth truly to all things, he appeareth like to a ton of wind and sometimes like a man, and then his eyes burn like fire.

The 9th is Saranyt, he can raise dead men and cause them to take again their own shape, and to speak with them, he can teach one of the 7 arts or sciences liberal and appears like an ass with a woman's face.

1. The 10th Muryell, he maketh love between persons, and can tell of treasure hid, and appeareth like a white Lyon.

2. The 11th is Umbra. He giveth dignity and telleth secrets, getteth friendships, conveyeth money from place to place, and appeareth like a giant, but speaketh so small that one can seldom hear or perceive him, he is passing true.

3. The 12th is Annoboth or Anaboth, he hath power to make one marvelous expert in necromancie, and to show the place of hid treasure, and to tell who keepeth it, and if the spirit be of the north he will drive him away, also he can tell of wonderful strange things, and appeareth in likeness of an armed knight.

Salphares or Bealpeare, an excellent carrier, he telleth of hidden treasure in the earth, or of things stolen or lost, and is true in all his doings, he cometh forth out of the east, for so he hath been called from the east, and he appeared very dutifully to God's people and his Servants.³⁰

End of the Fourth King.

30. An adjacent note reads "Old MS p. 84."

Of Suffumigations³¹

Note as there be 7 heavens, 7 stars, 7 days of the week, so there be 7 suffumigations which holdeth with them the virtues of the 7 stars, and maketh glad the Angels of aire, the angels of heaven, and the devils &c.

♄ Perfume of Saturday ought to be made with all good things and well smelling roots as Costus and herba thuris.

(♄) Suffume of Sunday is mastic, musk and other good gums.

♄ Suffume of Monday is Myrrh and laurel leaves and other leaves of good odour.

♂ Suffume of Tuesday is sandal wood, black and white, and all such trees as aloes, cypress, &c.

♀ Suffume of Wednesday is of cinnamon, cassia, laurel bark, & Nuts, and other good Rinds.

♄ Suffume of Thursday is Nux Moschata, caryofoli [caryophylli] and citruli, and the Rind of oranges, dry powdered, &c.

♀ Suffume of Friday is Musk, Roses, violets, and crocus, and other flowers of good savour, and in the contrary, to the contrary, put you all stinking perfumes.

31. An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS fo. 93."

The Magical Properties of Herbs, &c.³²

Acill – There is an herb called acill almalit corona-regis or Rosemary, the house that is suffumigated therewith no devil or spirit hath power over the same.

Pionea [Peony] hath the same virtue.

Canabs, Archangel, anoint thee with the juice of Canabus [Cannabis], and the juice of Archangel and before a mirror of steel call spirits and thou shalt see them and have power to bind and to loose them.

The Fume of Feniculis chaseth away Spirits.

Cardamonium [Cardamom] giveth gladness to him that useth it. Gathereth together spirits, and when thou invocest any spirit, make fume thereof or eat it.

Take the herb aveicum and jars to Campshire and thou shall see spirits that shall dread thee; it helpeth much to the achievement of secret and privy things.

Coriandrum [Coriander], gathereth spirits together, a fume being made thereof with Apio nisquio and Lazias cicuta urgeth spirits and therefore it is said to be the herb of spirits.

Petersilion, this herb chaseth away all the spirits of riches.

Hypericon, the juice mixed with croco athemesia and Root of Valerian, is very good to write withal for the obtaining of friendship either of a prince or of spirits of the air, and devils, and if ye do, thou shall obtain that thou covetest.

Apium [Opium] hath great power upon winds and devils and phantasies.

32. An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS 56."

Vazebelib, that is Martagon, Apium, ingrino et a ritino fia, being made in suffumigation by 7 nights with fagar, almait roots, dried and tempered with aqua Lapides, gathereth spirits together and being environed with any evil, suffumigate thyself therewith and thou shall see many wonders, as phantasies and devils of divers manners.

Saturnea is an herb which being borne about one giveth grace and good fortune especially in the day of Venus.

Dragnutia, if it be gathered when ☉ is in the first degree of cancer, and luna beholdeth mercury, or is in the house of mercury, if thou touch closure or locks therewith they shall be opened to thee. Hermes saith that it gathereth together winds and spirits if Mandragosa and Capillis Dezosa be joined therewith.

Luna, the seed thereof, Parsley, azortochona, and violet roots, and of each two parts, maketh to see in the air things to come, and to say many prophecies being into a suffumigation.

Salma defedeth a place from evil spirits and is very good for a man in health, but not for a sick man.

Colamiton, minta, palma christi, that is piony [peony], being suffumigated taketh away evil spirits, from any place, and defendeth a man against phantasies.

To defend treasure from finding, take coriandum of the second kind, which maketh one to sleep and adjoin thereto, croco insgrino and apio, grind them together and temper them with succo cucute, and make a suffume thereof, and suffume the place where thou wilt hide any treasure in, when the moon is joined with the sun in the angle of the earth, and that treasure shall never be found, and who that would take the same away shall be made a fool. Note that in laying or hiding the same treasure, you suffume them with frankincense, musk, succo, aloes wood, casse. Evermore Devils will keep that place, and know you that it may never be dissolved or fordone again, without an image made thereto by the point of stars.

'To constrain and bind devils, take the herb Sea, and bear it reverently, for it defendeth the place where it is from evil things, for with this prophets made dead men speak, that were dead nine days, in place where this herb is spirits have no might, it giveth men power to obtain their desire, this herb put upon a place where devils be enclosed it constraineth them and bindeth them, lest they might have power to depart away, and Soloman saith I found in the book of hermits, that who that taketh water in the hour of the night, and goeth upon the tomb of a dead man, with whose spirit he would have speech withal, cast the water upon the tomb, with the herb hyssop and let the water be suffumed with Coste, Succo, and musk and say, "Surge, Surge, Surge, O thou spirit and come and speak with me." This do by three nights, and the third night he shall surely come to thee, and shall speak with thee, and confess with thee of what things thou wilt.

Probatum est, deo semper et ubi per Gloria.

'To see spirits &c. take the herbs Serpillum, Sicordia, garmene, and the tree that swimmeth which is said, Abor Cancri et Malie, with rose madii, and with the tree that sheweth by night called herba lucens, and with these make an ointment and put thereto the eyes of a whelp and the feet of a hart and anoint thyself, and it will make open the air unto thee, that thou mayest see spirits in the clouds of the heavens, and also thereby thou mayest go surely whither thou wilt in one hour.

'That one shall prosper in his affairs, take Nepita, Marjorum, Athanasia, Trifolio, Salvia, perumita, hestera, Artemisa and hyssop, gathered in the increase of the moon in the day of Jupiter, and in the morrow when one weareth from the first degree of Aries until the first degree of Cancer, but when you gather them be clean and laved and washed and stand thy face toward the east, and gather them, and be assured the hour and place is amended where these herbs be, mix and put them upon the gate of the house, and thou shalt profit for ever more.

'To win favor of princes, &c, take the herb Savina, which as some say is a tree of love and delectation, join it with Croco, legira, colubri, and somewhat of Puinca, and put it in a Ring of Gold and then thou mayest go surely before the King, or before whomsoever thou wilt, but if thou put the stone with it that is called Topzius [Topaz] or Berrillum [Beryl]. This ring must

be made when Luna is joined with Jupiter in trine with the Sun, and then it is called *Anulus Solis*, and preserveth health, it giveth favour and grace and preserveth honour.

To see devils and spirits. Take the herb *Canna ferula*, which is dreadful and grievous and very strong in operation, take the juice of it, the juice of *Siante*, *Nisgrino*, *Tapsibarbat*, *Sandalum Rubeum*, black peper, with a confection made therewith, then thou mayest fume that thou wilt and thou shalt see devils and strange things, and if *Apium* [Opium] were joined therewith know that from each place suffumed Devils should fly, &c.

To bind and loose spirits, a powerful secret. Take *Cicoria*, with *Trigon*, *Pentaflon*, *Hypericon*, *Vertica*, *Vervenna*, and all beat together and bear them at thy neck and under thy feet, put 7 knotted grass and seven leaved grass, *Martagon* and *Lillium domesticum* & *Silvestri*, and the herb *Angelica*, for he that hath these under his feet or sitteth upon them, and hath the others in his neck, and hath 7 rings of 7 metals on his fingers, know ye that he shall have might in binding and in loosing and in choosing and enchanting and to do both good and evil in all places and make you suffumigation of those nine things. Thus, albe, thimiamate, mastic, musco, ligno aloes, cassio cinnamono and therewith suffumigate every of the things above said, saying "Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, Cherubim, Seraphim, Ariel, paritaseron, mic-saton, Sandelon."³³ Complete meum petitionum et meum voluntatem, and they shall fulfill it, these be the chiefest names of the 9 Order[s] of angels.

Magical properties of the Upupa, Lapwing, or Puet.³⁴

Upupa, or lapwing, hath one bone in his wing which gathereth together devils and spirits of the air, the property of him is that who so taketh the head of him and wrappeth it in honey, and then as soon as he may swallow it and drinketh the milk of a white cow or red, know

33. This should probably read "Raphael, Gabriel, Michael, Cherubim, Seraphim, Auriel, Paritaseron, Methatron, Sandalphon."

34. An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS p. 58."

ye that it maketh a man to say things to come, and that cutteth off the neck thereof, where a cock croweth not, [n]either may be heard the voice of a Hound, neither where wheat is sown, and when he cutteth off the neck let him call devils, and let him bear with him the half deint of the blood, and with the other half anoint himself, and evermore one of the devils shall go with him, viz he whom he calleth and shall tell him in many things, &c.

To see the Spirits in the air or elsewhere
by an ointment made from a lapwing.

To have the sight of spirits³⁵ take a lapwing or 2 or 3 and kill them, and save the blood in a vessel as above that is very close, and so keep it 10 or 12 days that no air may come in or go out and at the end of the same days it will be turned into worms and within [an]other 10 or 12 days it will be turned into one worm, then make paste of walnuts or almonds beat small &c. and put the worm therein, [an]other 10 or 12 days if need be, and cover it close with a cover of the same stuff and look that there be room enough for it to increase therein, and then that worm will be turned into a lapwing. Note, you may look unto it after 10 days to know if it be not turned into a lapwing again, now then the same is ready in proportion, then take him out and let his blood under the right wing and save the blood as is aforesaid, and when thou wilt see spirits, anoint thy eyes with the blood and look forth at the east window, &c. or eastward and South, thou shalt see spirits of the air, of which thou mayest call one and having thy purpose, discharging him say, "Depart and peace be between thee and me, in the name of the father, the son and the holy spirit." Note in March, April, May, June, and July the weather being fair and warm is best working the work of the lapwing, and in the hour of ♄ or ☿ being in opposition and triangle of the ♃.

35. An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS 42."

The secretness of secrets hid.

Take a lapwing³⁶ and slay it on a Wednesday in the hour of ♀ with a Knife made of steel and brass, and let the blood run into a vessel made of bay tree and beware you shed no blood, but that all run into the vessel, and keep it therein well covered, and put it in a privy place, where no man cometh but yourself, and look that no man see the same vessel but yourself, nor as near as you can come there nigh and provided always that you yourself shall not see the same, in nine days as when you may look therein, and then you shall see the blood full of worms, then cover the vessel again and so let it rest [an] other nine days and where you may look therein, and you shall see but one worm. Then take the meat of Dates, and Kernels of walnuts and small pieces of almonds and figs and bruise them all together, and make a paste thereof round as a ball, and make in the midst thereof a hole and cover the vessel there with, so that no air can come thereto, more than cometh in at the hole in the cover, and set it up again and so let it stand 90 days then uncover the vessel and you shall see a chicken in the likeness of a lapwing, flea³⁷ it and put it on a spit and roast it, and make the fire with date stones and shells of walnuts, and as it roasteth keep the grease that droppeth therefrom, and when you will work any work of philosophy, anoint thy face and thy eyes with the grease, and you shall see the spirits face to face, [and] what they do, and they shall not be able to hide these doings from you, and they shall seem to you as though they were men, and your fellows, and you shall hear them and speak with them, and ask of them what you will, and they shall tell you, and they shall hide nothing from your presence, and you need not to be afraid of them, for by this means was our science found out, but thou must first do as before, or else if thou omittest or neglectest anything thy labour is lost. Now when you would no longer see them wash your eyes in water that swallows were sodden in, but secretly note that the vessel must be made on Wednesday under ♀ and also the knife of brass and steel, and that this experiment must be done ♀ ☉ on the Wednesday at the hour of (·) or thou shalt not succeed.

³⁶ An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS 143."

³⁷ Flea.

An experiment with the Swallow

First go to the place where the Swallow hath his nest with 4 young ones and find one of them upon the next by the space of four days, and the 4th day take him out of the nest and cut him in the middle, and you shall find within the belly of it 3 stones of divers colours, one brown, the second red, and the third white. The virtue of the first is if thou wilt give it to any woman that travaileth with child, she shall be speedily delivered. The virtue of the red stone is if thou wilt put it in thy mouth, thou shalt obtain any thing thou wilt demand. The virtue of the white stone is if any man bear it with him he shall not be affrighted as long as he has the said stone with him.

A suffumigation that rejoiceth spirits.

Amber

Lignum Aloes

Costus

Musk

Crocus

Blood of a Lapwing

Thimiamata



These be meat, drink and gladness to the spirits of the air and urgeth them to appear and gathereth them together as saith Hermes.³⁸

An experiment of love which is true and proved of many.

Take a frog that is used to dry land, and put him in a pot that is made full of holes, and stop it fast, then bury the pot in a cross highway in an ant hill, with something, and let it be there 9 days, and look thou stop it fast, and that thou go against the wind, that it hear no noise, and at the 9 days go and take out the pot, and thou shalt find two bones in it, take them and put them in a running water, and one of them will fleet against the stream, mark that well, but keep them both and make thee a ring and take part of that which ran

38. Hermes Trismegistus, the fabled magician.

against the stream and set it in a ring, and when thou wilt have any woman, put it in her right hand, or else touch her therewith, and she shall never rest till she hath been with thee &c., if thou wilt have no more of her, and will have her go away, touch her with the other bone, & she will not tarry with thee. Probatum est.

A charm to win at shooting with arrows.

Write these names and put them in the arrow's head that thou shalt win with.

Suad, mayas, lumbit, imbro, cramuth, pullus, calas, achbith, inflew, cabean-thew, and the power of his pooke, defellarvoth, calphe, bath, bth juncte, nowber, Impemath bth, yngle, Ingrye, ell Ryboris, in canugue, horre, haroront, ne tetra, nothing except, but power in flight, take these names and put them in thy arrow's head, and that day that thou wilt shoot for any great wager, say "Ayo narownl" 3 times and never shoot with that arrow but when thou wilt win and get the game, and then prick the second finger on the left hand, and bathe the head of the arrow in the blood, that same day that thou wilt shoot, and say in loosing of your arrow, power in flight, and that day if you shoot for a 1000£ thou shalt win it. Probatum est.

Thiamiana grecum

Mastic

Sandalus

Galbanum

Meyoha lazerat

Myrrh and

Amber

These be suffumigations, collectors
of spirits, and pleasers of them.

To make an oil which is precious, most rare, and excellent of all others, to see spirits in the air as followeth.³⁹

1. ♀ On Wednesday an Owlet

Take the white owlet in the day and hour of ♀. Kill him under the right wing saying these words, Tuua, handarmus, dilifaon, dejiaga, Sumiella, Rastarakagath, this fowl I kill in the name of you all, commanding you all in the name of Rusangall,⁴⁰ your superior by whom you do all secrets in earth amongst men, and by Hemeolon you[r] prince, I adjure you, that you do your humble obedience unto me (JB)⁴¹ at all times henceforth, and with your power unknown give virtue and strength to this my purpose, constraining all inferiours under you to serve me at all times, days, hours, and minutes, at all times in all places without hurting of me my body, or soul, or any other living creature.

Then reserve the blood in a clean vessel and of his fat in another clean vessel. Then:

2. ♀ On Thursday a Lapwing.

In the day of ♀ consequently following and the hour of ♀ take a lapwing and kill him under the right wing as you did the owlet, saying these words, Dala, Dangolath, Emenguilla, Saluagan, Arsdortho, Sedmaon, Pandlath, this fowl I kill in the name of you all, commanding you all, by this name Rufangoll your superior by whom you do all secrets on earth amongst men and by Hemeolon your prince, I adjure you that you do your humble obedience unto me at all times henceforth, and with your power unknown give virtue to this my purpose, constraining all inferiors under you, to serve me at all times, days, hours, and minutes, at all times and at all places, without hurting me my body, or soul, or any other living creature.

³⁹. An adjacent marginal note reads "Theurgia MS 138."

⁴⁰. Hereafter given as Rufangoll.

⁴¹. The identity of the individual signified by "JB" is not known, however it is quite possible that they were simply a mistranscription, and were actually intended to be "JP," the initials of John Porter.

Then reserve his blood in a clean vessel and his fat in another vessel. Then:

3. ♀ – On Friday a Black Hen.

In the day of Venus, and the hour of ♀ ensuing take a black hen, and kill her as you did the lapwing, against the heart, saying these words, Eloofe, Pandugell, Etheluil, Evantr, Diratho, Riamiuta, Edlodell, this fowl I kill in the name of you all, commanding you, by this name Rufangoll your superior, by whom you do all secrets on earth amongst men, and by Hemeolon your prince, I adjure you that you do your humble obedience unto me, at all times henceforth, and with your power unknown give virtue and strength to this my purpose, constraining all inferiors under you, to serve me at all times days, hours and minutes, at all times and in all places, without hurting of me, my body, or soul or any other living creature.

Then reserve the blood in a clean vessel and the fat in another vessel, then in the day of ♀ in the hour of ♀ next following:

4. ♀ – On Saturday a Black Cat

Take a black cat and kill her under the right side against the heart saying these words, Felosell, Gariguam, Samioni, Elogamitto, Reumdatha, Jesoraell, hermadafinui, this beast I kill in the name of you all, commanding you by this name, Rufangoll, your superior, by whom you do all secrets on earth amongst men, and by Hemeolon your prince, I adjure you that you do your humble obedience unto me at all times henceforth, and with your power unknown give virtue and strength to this my purpose, constraining all inferiors under you to serve me, at all times and in all places, without hurting of me my body, or soul, or any other living creature.

Then reserve the blood in a clean vessel & the fat in another vessel. Then:

5. ☉ – On Sunday a Mole

In the day of the sun and hour of ☉ ensuing, take a wart or mole, kill her under the right side, saying these words, Odauan, Opathan, Deothan, Hermyadell, fervola, ganyhaon, flodalath, this beast I kill in the name of you all, commanding you all by this name Rufangoll, your superior, by whom you do all

secrets in earth amongst men, and by Hemeolon your prince, I adjure you that you do your humble obedience into me at all times henceforth, and with your power unknown give virtue and strength to this my purpose, constraining all inferiors under you to serve me at all times, days, hours, and minutes, and at all times and in all places, without hurting of me my body, or soul, or any other living creature.

Then reserve his blood in a clean vessel and his fat in another vessel. Then in the day of:

6. ♃ On Monday a Bat

The ♃ and hour of mercury ensuing, take a bat and kill her under the right wing, saying these words, Ramasaell, Kaelldath, Riarusa, Exoniloelli, Iesaloccla, Reralath, Dupanfalon, this fowl I kill in the name of you all, commanding you all, by this name Rufangoll, your superior by whom you do all secrets on earth amongst men, and by Hemeolon your prince, I adjure you that you do your humble obedience unto me at all times henceforth, and with your powers unknown give virtue and strength to this my purpose, constraining all inferiors under you to serve me at all times, days, hours, and minutes, and at all times and in all places, without hurting me my body, or soul, or any other living creature.

7. ♂ On Tuesday a Raven.

Then reserve of his blood in a clean vessel and of his fat in another vessel.

Then in the day of mars in the hour of ♄ ensuing.

Take a raven and kill her under the right wing, saying these words, Ohorma, Sedellpha, Oremaelli, Saquidaell, Myiasaeto, Rendos, Lymaxillo, this fowl I kill in the name of you all, commanding you all by this name Rufangoll, your superior, by whom you do all things all secrets in Earth amongst men, and by Hemeolon your prince, I adjure you all that you do your humble obedience unto me at all times henceforth, and with your power unknown give virtue and strength to this my purpose, constraining all inferiors under you to serve me at all times, days, hours, and minutes, at all times and in all places, without hurting me my body, or soul, or any other living creature.

Then reserve his blood in a clean vessel and of the fat in another vessel. The mixture of all these as followeth.

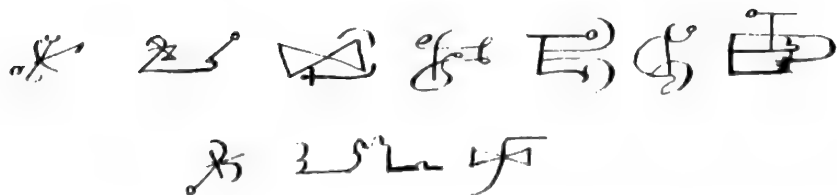
Mixing the ingredients.

Take the fat of all the aforesaid fowls and beasts, of each of them 7 drams, mix all well together with a slice of bay tree, upon the Palm of your hand clean washed with rose water, saying in tempering it these 7 words or names.

Julia, Hodelfa, Juafula, Sedamylia, Roavia, Segamex, Delforia, inferiors and servants to the Empire, and princes of all fairies Sibilis, and all amiable creatures delighting in the company of human people, Lady Delforia, as you be present, amongst men invisible at all times, as soon as I shall anoint mine eyes with this commixture, and that you be as familiar with me, as you were with King Solomon, that mighty prince, and as you were with prince Arthur, that valiant prince, and as you opened, and shewed to King Solomon, the hidden natures, properties, and virtues of metals, precious stones, trees herbs and the secrets of all Sciences underneath heaven, even as I command, require and adjure you Julia, Hodelfa, Juafula, Sedamylia, Roavia, Segamex, with the Empress Delforia to do the like to me at all times, without disdainfullness, by these names whereby I do bind you:

+ Gath + Vagath + Ulagar + Jeramila + Roboracath + Redath + Segath
even as you fear the just judgement of Readufan, upon pain of Hell fire and everlasting damnation.


This done at the conjunction of the moon at the hour of ♃, put the ointment in a vessel in the midst of the fairy throne, but first take 2 or three drams of each blood and write these 7 names on Virgin parchment. Julia, Hodelfa, Juafula, Sedamylia, Roavia, Segamex and Delforia, all these names written 7 times three times with a pen made of a feather the third of the lapwings left wing, and four times with the feather of a raven, made with the 4th feather, of the right wing, and with these characters:



Then lap it about the vessel and seal it fast with virgin wax, repeating these 7 names Julia, Hodelfa, Iuafula, Sedamilia, Roavia, Segamexe and Delforia in sealing of it the seal must be made in figure following of copper.

[Figure Missing from Manuscript]

But first before thou put this into the fairy throne, provide four Hazel rods of one year's growth, cut them in the day and hour of ♀. The moon increasing, shave them white then write upon every one of them these seven names Julia &c. as above, put these four wands in the 4 quarters east, west, north and south of the fairy throne, in the hour of ♀, and put the vessel in the midst of the fairy throne, repeating the same 7 names as above, 3 times at every wand, first to the East, West, North and South, saying these 7 names, Julia, Hodelfa, Iuafula, Sedamilia, Roavia, Segamexe & Delforia the Empress of all fairies, Sybils and all other amiable creatures delighting in the company of Christian people, hear me I call you every one of you by name, Julia &c. and by the mighty names of ligation wherewith Solomon did include you into a ball of glass, + Pannath + Davion + Segamilion + Sygamyle + Darufa + Jerasami + Ariamilath + that you come at this present time and make perfect this ointment, that as often as I shall anoint my eyes therewith, I may see you in your perfect being, without fraud or Illusion, truly shewing to me all secrets of herbs, trees, stones and metals, and privy talk of people, even as you fear the just judgment of God upon pain of Hell fire, and everlasting damnation, whose names here included sealed with the seal of King Solomon, the mighty prince with which seal he sealed the vessel wherein he bound you fiat, fiat, fiat.

Making this pentacle  over the vessel upon the ground, within the fairy throne, with a hazel rod of one year. This do 3 days 3 times every day, this done or ended take it up and put it into a secret dark place three other days.

These three days ended put it into the Sun to rectify 5 other days, let it remain not moved, but first before thou anoint or presume to anoint thine eyes therewith, be in clean life the space of seven days, then anoint therewith and look toward the east, then thou shall see divers creatures most beautiful to behold, in garments of divers colors, then speak to one of them which thou likest best, beckoning thy head towards her, with saying, "O thou, beautiful creature and gentle Virgin, by what name so ever thou art called or of what order so ever thou art, to what use so ever thou art created, by God the father, I call thee, by God the Son I command thee, by God the Holy Ghost, I choose thee, and by the obedience thou owest to thy Lord God, I adjure thee to be obedient to me for ever henceforth, as thou dost hope to be saved at the dreadful day of judgment in which he shall say 'Come ye blessed and inherit my father's Kingdom, and go ye cursed into everlasting damnation in Hell fire to burn for ever,' even as thou dost fear the judgment of God, upon pain of Hellfire and everlasting damnation, give me true answers of all such things as I shall as[k] or demand of thee. To this I swear thee by God the father, the Son and the Holy Ghost to be true to me at all times even as thou wilt avoid the heavy wrath of God, sitting in his high throne to judge everyone aright, and also I command ye by all power, that God hath over all creatures in heaven and in earth, and in Hell hereafter to meet me at all times thyself alone quickly, whereupon depart at this time and the peace of God be between thee and me for ever, Amen." Then at all times he will meet with thee at what time thou anointest thy eyes, of this assure thyself to be most true, but when thou talkest with her talk not long, neither yet demand his name, his parentage, nor yet his kindred, or for what she is, for fear of indignation, neither yet whether she be a spirit or a woman, let that talk go, but demand things necessary for thy purpose, beware you offer her no discourtesy at any time of polluting thyself and when thou hast talked enough and with her, wash thine eyes with rose water or some other sweet water, and when she doth depart say these words, "Now go in peace thou beautiful creature of God to the place appointed of God," signing thyself with the sign of the cross.

An experiment which hath been done and proved to call any spirit of the earth or water or fire, and to make any spirit of any dead man appear and give answer to thee.

In the 2nd or 4th days of the moon thou shalt work this, or in the 6, 8, 10, 12, or 14th or else not,⁴² and when thou wilt call this art read this conjuration 3 times or 9 times, and of warrants he shall appear to thee having these characters which shall follow,

[Figure Missing from Manuscript]

I conjure thee thou spirit (N) by the power and might of the father, the Son and the holy Ghost. Amen. Benedicite Dominus.

O thou spirit (N) I conjure thee and charge thee and bind thee, that thou come and appear in this stone or crystal in a fair form as visible as one man seeth another, by all power and strength of all spirits by the Virgin Mary that bore our Lord Jesus Christ and by Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, also I conjure thee by the Virgins which waited with their lamp for the Lord, I conjure thee and bind thee and conjure thee thou spirit (N) that thou has dost come and appear, as is before rehearsed, I charge thee thou spirit (N). By heaven, earth, the sea, and hell, and by all things contained in them, and by Mary Magdalen and his fellowship, by the faith of the martyr and the twelve apostles, by Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, by the praises and prayers, that were said to the Son of God. Also I conjure thee (N) that thou come to this stone by and by without any delay or tarrying, by all the host of angels and archangels, and by all the holy company of saints and good spirits, also I bind thee thou spirit (N) by the virtue of all herbs and stones, and grass and trees⁴³ and grapes and by these holy names of God + Sother + Emanuel + Panton + Craton + Eleyson + Theamaton + Agla + Alpha + et Omega + Tetragrammaton + Sabaoth + Vermes + Athanatos + Ely + Eloy + Caramatos + Jesus + also, I conjure and bind thee thou (N) by all light and

42. These same days are noted also as being favorable in *Goetia*.

43. Hockley has "fires" here, but the alternate manuscript has "trees", which seems more appropriate.

lights, and stars & frost and cold, ice and snow, winter and summer, days and nights, times, years and months, hours and seconds, minutes, and degrees, and by all the course of the air, that thou come and appear in this stone, that I may see thee so well as one man seeth another, to do all this and to tell me the truth of all things I shall ask of thee, I conjure thee (N) by the virtues of Christ, by his agony, and bloody sweat, by his cross and passion, by his death and burial, by his glorious resurrection and ascension, and by the coming of the Holy Ghost our comforter, that thou (N) come and fulfill all my mind and intent, as I have before rehearsed, to all the things that I would know, also I conjure thee by the holy psalter of David and by all the holy prayers therein contained, and by the faith of the faithful, also I conjure thee by the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and by the altar of the Testament both new and old, and all the virtue in them contained, also I bind thee thou spirit (N) by these three words, also I conjure thee charge, adjure and bind thee (N) that thou come and appear in this form or stone of crystal, and give me a true answer of all things I shall ask of thee, I command thee by the help of God, and by the power of all things that move upon the earth, or in the earth, or water of the sea, or in the fire, this I charge thee (N) by the high God omnipotent, that suffered his death on Good Friday, and rose again the third day to the redemption of all mankind, by his fasting and by his carrying to the steeple and mountain, and by the power with which he answered the devil, when he said Jesus command these be made bread, and by God the father, the son, and holy spirit. Praised be the holy trinity, 3 persons in unity. Amen.

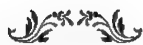
“Per crucis hoc signum, fugiat procul omne malignum, et per Idem Signum salvertos, quod est benignunt, et per signum sancti crucis, de inimicis naturis, libera nos Deus noster,” then begin the conjuration as followeth, so loud that thou mayest be heard.

I conjure thee Satan, by the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and by St. Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by all the apostles of God, and by all the virgins and prophets of God, and by the face of God, and by the head of God, and by the crown of God, and by the nose of God, and by the teeth of God and by the eyes of God, and by the word⁴⁴ of God, and by the air of God, and by the nails of God, and by the thumbs of God, and by the veins of God, et per tiberias Dei, et per plantas Dei, et per quinquā vulnera Dei, et per omnia tormenta Dei, et per omnia Sancta ejus, et per nativitate Dei, et per passionem Dei, et per merita Dei, et per morte Dei, et per cruce Dei.⁴⁵

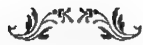
[End of the Offices of Spirits]

44. The manuscript has “wood” in place of “word” but this is clearly an error in transcription.

45. A pencilled note reads “See p. 135 Theurgia MS.”



Appendix One



APPENDIX ONE

Excerpts from Sloane MS 3824

Sloane MS 3824 is a collection of various magical treatises. It has a number of experiments related to spirit conjuration with strong parallels to *The Offices of Spirits*, and I include here some of the relevant sections.

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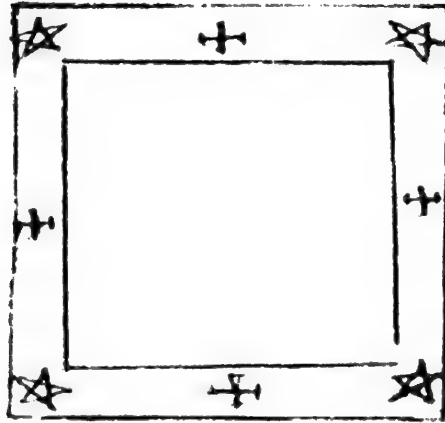
From “An Experiment to Call Out Spirits that are Keepers of Treasure Troves.” This section details an experiment that uses the blood of a lapwing, the use of which animal is also noted in *The Offices of Spirits*. The resulting spirits, while not named, mirror the spirit Agares from *Goetia*.

An Experiment to Obtain whatsoever is Desired¹

Take a lapwing & lett it[s] blood in a glass, wherewith make the ensuing Square, commonly called a Circle, though improperly by reason of its contrary similitude, but they are generally called Circles in the Art, because they all signifie one & the same thing &c: upon four large calve skin parchments fastened evenly and handsomely together, according to Art, as is before taught. And also with the Blood of the lapwing, write upon an Abortive thus as followeth, *Bolsha Suspensus in Ethera super ea Implent Pamilians Avaurin Tons Floris de sede Beldachim Sarranis Mars*. Lett this be written in a chamber that is very private and close shut for the present time, and when these things are done & kept in a readiness for use then seek out for a place fitt to do this experiment in, w^{ch} must be in an Orchard, or a Woods y^t is very private and free from the passages or oversight of people, then being found, then at the time appointed to goe upon action, lett the Magical Philosopher having a fair bright sword in his hand, & as soon as he is entered into the orchard or wood, kneel downe on his knees, and with an earnest meekness, say what is

1. Sloane MS 3824, ff. 114-115.

written in the abortive, three times over, then lett him rise, & having made choice of the privatest place that can be found, goe thereto & place this circle, and with his sword in his right hand and the scedule [in] the left hand, enter the circle and turning his face to the East, read the schedule over as oft as is convenient, but at length will appear a vision, like to a fair Knight on horseback, with a Gosse-Hawk on his fist, and he will say unto you, *Why call you me? What will you ask? Lo, I am ready to fulfill your requests.* But answer him nothing at all and then turning your face from him to the North, behold him not, then will he pass by & vanish. Then towards the north proceed as before you did towards the East and anon will another Vision appear, like a comely fair Knight on horseback, with a Gosse-Hawk also on his fist, riding as it were towards you upon a goodly steed, and he will speak to you soon the like language, or to the same effect, as the first apparition, butt say nothing to him, neither give him answer, and turning your face to the West, behold him not, so he will pass away & vanish. Then towards the West, observe to doe as before in the East and North, & presently will a third apparition appear like as a goodly Knight on horseback with a Gosse-Hawk on his fist, more fair and beautiful than the two former, Crowned with a Diadem of Gold, who will say thus unto you, or much like it, *Loe, I am here, and weary for Labor all day, therefore tell me what thou wouldest I should doe for thee.* And this Knight you may faithfully trust, and desire of him w^t you will, he will truly fullfill your requests, which you ought to have in readiness fairly written, &c: then will he say even as soon as he hath said the former words, *Will you have my fellowship* but you shall deny it and answer him saying no you will not, but propose your desires and demands to him, w^t is it you would have him do for you and turn your countenance or face towards the South, and so leave him, and then shall he pass away from you, and give over and cause action, & goe your way the next morning, goe again to the same place, and there you shall find all your requests fulfilled & your expectations answered, for which give thanks & depart.



Hic est Quadra-Circulus Experimenti

This ought to be written with the blood of the lapwing upon faire calve skin parchment, neatly & evenly fastened, together, & so made one square [the] entire thing, & so kept for practice.

— — —

The following gives another listing of spirits, and while not defined as the “Offices of Spirits” in the manuscript, it parallels another manuscript that does list it under that name, Sloane MS 3853. While the names do not match conclusively with either *Goetia* or *The Offices of Spirits*, several of the seals do mirror those given in the former—the latter not being supplied with seals for the spirits listed.

The Names of Several Spirits both with and without their Characters²

Cutehtpollo, Horp, Stigamma, Ysbiloth, Mulpotolar, Sympolsis, Noddarding, Solyhosyl, Mendir, Culdrunal, Funaler, Sirsir, Sichere, Sursinal, Clidraepe, Spalata, Pludir, Hursor, Rodmache, Goral, Miche, Ferinalopes, Hissirperche, Sinant, Hur

2. Sloane MS 3824, f. 117. The original manuscript includes the seals and characters that relate to a number of the spirits listed.

Macherioth Rex
 Isus Rex
 Jonathon Rex
 Acharon Rex
 Magoth Rex
 Achachardus Rex
 Ysquy Rex

Whose Familiars Are

Arunbel, Thoranor, Samna, Gozra, Gonhollados, Alerit, Gatos, Garon, Syel,
 'Tysgel, Lusor, Rymor, Earny, Asyn
 Squatus, Gezine, Ypea, Gorse, Ghyrites, Mylon, Tynior, Gryel

There are many spirits that are said to be by nature Evill and not onely
 Envious & Enymies to man & his felicity, but adverse to all goodness
 w^hsoever; and yet have been by many magicians (of former times) living in
 Remote & far Countreyes from us in England and these parts, brought to a
 Communication and kind of familiarity wth them, whereby there offices &
 natures have been Discovered, but it hath not been Common among men,
 especially the meanest Capacities, and therefore not att all practiced, neither
 is it fit to be practiced any sober philosopher, unless to satisfie his curiosity,
 because of their turbulence, but yet they are many times called upon to bind
 & constrain other spirits to doe there offices, which is not at all offensive,
 hurtfull, or obnoxious, therefore they may be Invocated in such Cases, &c.:
 wee shall mention some w^t thereof, because of discerning the differences
 thereof, & therein let the magick philosopher use his discretion &c.:

There are three spirits called devils, or infernall spirits, whose names are
 mentioned in Holy Writ, namely Lucifer, Beelzebub, & Sathan, therefore as
 they stand recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, we shall hint at something of
 them, & no more.

Lucifer is a great spirit, and may not be invocated nor Called from his Orders,
 yet by him, as by Tantavalerion, other spirits may be abjured and bound, for
 all spirits y^t are by nature Evill, or at least more maligne than usually many
 Aijeriall & Terrestrial powers and w^{ch} are treated of before & doe with a

kind of majesty, worship & obey him: for this reason he may not be called upon, except to constrain other subservient spirits to fulfill the command & requests of the Invocant in any reasonable thing:—

The next is Beelzebub who is a great prince and it is said that before the fall he was of the Order of Cherubims and 1000000 spirits doe minister unto him, he appeareth very Beautifull & giveth to them y^t call him Gold & Silver and maketh them expert in Science, he appeareth well for half an hour & giveth to each demand a true Answer. He giveth a servant or familiar w^{ch} will be faithful & obedient during a man's life, whoso calleth him must have Fumes of Amber, Lignum Aloes, mastic, &c.: & invoke toward the East *in verbis conceptis* wherein he must be importunately & earnestly urged to do his office who then at length will obey.

The third spirit is called Sathan who was before his fall of the order of Cherubims & it is said that because he fell not of his owne will, therefore he abideth obscurely in the Aijer and so is called the prince of the Aijer, under whome are four Princes or Kings, bearing rule in the Aijer, & have power given & permitted them, ... and disturbe the Aijer whereby many mischiefs befall the Earth, doing great hurt, and it was this spirit y^t tempted our four fathers³ in the wilderness to disobedience.

The four kings of the Aier Ruling under Sathan together with their counselors & messengers and named as followeth, under whom again are numberless of subservients.

3. Sic: forefathers.

King of the	East	Orience
	West	Paymon
	North	Egy... ⁴
	South	Amamon

Presidential Counsellors are	Niopheyn, Barbas, Sebarbas, Alilgon Gordonizer, Tame Vassago, Othey, Um, Anaboth, Aleche, Berith, Mala
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Whose Messengers are	Baal, Temel, Belfarto (or Belferit) Balferth, Belial, Bawson, Rombulence or Ramblane, Alphasis, Boulon, Ocarbidaton, Madicon
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Oriens, King of the East, appeareth with an hundred & two hundred legions, having a fair effeminate countenance, & a goodly crown upon his head, riding upon an Elephant, having trumpets, ... & much minstrelry of divers Instruments going before him, & when he is called he cometh wth other great Kings butt if he be called alone, then he appeareth in the very likeness of a Royall Horse. He telleth the truth of all things present, past, & to come, giveth money, teacheth sciences, consecrateth books, and willingly giveth answers to all demands & Questions, he knoweth all experiments, and hath power to teach them. There is a King under Oriens, whose name is Baal, whose office is to teach all manner of sciences, and maketh a man to goe Invisible, & hath under him 250 Legions, whoso acteth by this Royall Spirit Oriens, must direct his countenance & actions towards the East & at ye first constraine the spirit Temel, who is messenger of the East as followeth — first invoking for the aid and assistance of Oriens, Rex, &c.: of which Invocation an example hereafter followeth in the practice of Hochma.

O thou spirit who art called Temel, messenger of the East, I adjure, call upon, bind, command, and constrain thee by the power, dignity and

4. Sic: Egyn

authority of y^f Great and Royall Prince Oriens, the Supreme Head of y^f Hierarchy, I adjure, command, constraine & in the name, & by y^e Supremacy of your Order, I powerfully & earnestly urge thee, O thou spirit Temel, messenger of the East, to appear and show thy selfe, visible, affable, and in all mildness & serenity come before us, & in no wise turbulent, hurtfull or terrible unto us, or any other Creature w^hsoever upon the Earth, butt come ye peaceably, quietly, & in all plainness & humility, give true & faithfull Answers and Resolves, readily & willingly, of my demands & desires, curteously fulfilling my Request in all things according to y^f Order & office, without delay, fraud, illusion, or other deceitfull crafts or impeditions whatsoever, that my in any wise hinder, oppose, or obstruct my Expectations in the least. Move therefore, &c.

This Conjuraton being repeated nine times, and if he appeareth not, then proceed to the Conjuraton following, & rehearse it several times, and herein Act wth Care & order by returning again, to that above, & then again to this below according to y^f discretion.

O you spirit, Belfarto or Belferit, who art the messenger of the King of the East, I exorcise, adjure, bind, command and constraine thee, in and through y^e name of our allmighty & Heavenly God, Creator of heaven & Earth, & of his onely begotten Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, the redeemer of y^e World, & our onely Mediator & advocate wth the Father of all power, mercy, & goodness, in whose names all quire⁵ of Celestiall Angells rejoyce, before whom they incessantly sing Omappa laman Hallelujah, and at whose names all knees upon the Earth doe bow, and all the Ayeriall, Terrestriall, and Infernall Hosts of Spirits doe fear & tremble, wherefore I doe again adjure, bind, command, & constraine you, O you spirit Belfarto or Belferit, and I also potently and powerfully urge & Enforce you in the name and by the dignity and Authority of yo^f prince Oriens, and the head of your Hierarchy & orders, that now presently and wthout tarrying or delay that you enforce the same spirit, which is called Temel, to appear visibly, affably, and peaceably here before me, and [in] no ways

5. Sic: choir.

turbulent, hurtfull, or terrible to me or any other creature, and that he may faithfully, humbly, obediently, readily and willingly doe my commandment and fulfill my desires in all things according to his office, wherein he may ... without any let, hindrance, tarrying, delay, illusion, fraud, or any other crafts, deceits, or devices whatsoever, that may oppose, obstruct, or deceive me in my present and future Expectations, all which I constraine and command thee of.

O thou spirit Belfarto or Belferit, in & through the mighty & binding name Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, &c.:

Amaymon is a King of the South. He is great & mighty, and appeareth in the similitude of an old man, wth a great beard, his hair like to hors hair, & hath a bright crown on his head, and rideth on a firse^o Lion, usually roring at the first appearance, and shaking a rod in his hand, his ministering spirit going before him, wth all manner of manner of musicall Instruments, and wth him cometh other three Kings, who are Emlon, Ocarbidaton, and Maditon, being messenger to the King of the South, he cometh wth a great company and very obscurely, &c.: He giveth a true answer to all demands, & maketh a man wonderfull cunning and expert in all Learning, Philosophy, & Ars Notoria, he giveth the best acquaintance wth nobility, & confirmeth the doings thereof as dignity, promotion, &c.: he may be detained one hour, &c.: and butt no longer, &c.: And when you goe to act by this spirit Amaymon, direct y^r self & countenance to the South, first Invocating & constraining the spirit Emlon, after the same manner as is before explained in the constraint of the spirituall messengers of the East, and/or Oriens (viz) Temel and Belfarto, using the same Invocations, only altering the spirits names, and then Adjuring the other spirits, Ocarbidaton and Maditon, as before.

Paymon is King of the West, he appeareth att first somewhat terrible & speakest with wth a Hoarse voice, butt being constrained by a Divine Power he then taketh the form of a souldier, and when he cometh to the presence of the Invocant, is oft times apt to cavill & make variance. He rideth upon a dromedary, or a camell, which is crowned wth a bright crown, & hath the countenance of a woman, & before goeth a band of ministering spirits, wth all

6. Sic: fierce.

kind of musickall instruments, and when he appeareth, let the Invocant cast a paper to him, wherein is inscribed yⁱ he shall speake plainly & distinctly, so yⁱ y^e master may understand w^h he saith, and wth him come five other principall or royall spirits, who are Belferth, the messenger to the King of the West, & Belial a King, & Bawson a King, and Rombalance or Ramblane, and Alphasis, they may appear from y^e 3rd hour to the 12th &c.: It is also here to be observed that the spirit Alphasis is first to be called upon and constrained by Invocation, as is to be understood before in the first, Temel, and then afterwards the regall spirits Belial, Bawson, Rombulence or Ramblane, according to the example of the spirit Belfarto, before recited.

Ilgyn is King of the North, he appeareth in the likeness of a man, his face very fair and clear, his nostrils very sharp like a sword.

The Practice that [is called] Hochma, &c.:—made use of by those above named four Kings Orience, Paymon, Egin, and Amaymon, is as followeth. First the four Kings and their partickular Presidentiall Councillors who are distinctly called upon, from there severall & respective orders or mansions, to send such spirits as was nominated, &c.: to effect & fulfill all such proposalls, as should be demanded, which is thus—

O thou great & potent spirit Oriens, King of the East, & bearing rule & command in the East region of the Aiyer, I adjure, call upon, & constrain, & most powerfully and earnestly urge you, by & in and through the virtue power & might of those efficacious & binding names Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, Adonay, Agla, El, Sabaoth, Elohim. Even the Almighty, Immense, Incomprehensible & Everliving God, the omnipotent Creator of heaven & Earth, & in & through the names of our Lord & Savior Jesus Christ, Messias, Sother, Emannuel, the onely begotten son of god the father, born of the Virgin mary, the High King & Lord of all the World, whose name all the Celestiall Angels honour & obey, and before whom all the holy company and Quior⁷ of heaven incessantly sing Omappa laman Hallelujah and at whose divine & inestimable name, all knees on Earth do homage and bow, and all the Ayeriall, Terrestrial and Infernal spirits doe fear &

7. Sic: choir.

tremble, and now by all aforesaid I do now again powerfull adjure, call upon, constrain & most earnestly urge you, O you great & mighty spirit Oriens, King of the East Quadrant of the Aiyer, in & through the most Effectuall glorious sacred & puissant name of him who saith & it is done that now Immediately wthout further tarrying or delay, you doe send or cause to be sent forth wthout one the spirit Marage or any other from your order, and to appear visibly, plainly, peaceably, affably, in all serenity and humility, here apparently to my sight and view, and positively, effectually, faithfully, and fully to serve me and to resolve me in such Queries & Interrogations, as I shall ask, require & demand of him & so fulfill my requests and doe my commandment in all things, according to his office, wherein he may or can, as I shall desire of him, & y^t wthout any delayance, guile, deceit or other illusions whatsoever, that may in any wise hinder, oppose, obstruct or destroy our expectations, and I doe again earnestly Importune, adjure, urge and constrain you powerfull & regall spirit Oriens, to send forthwith immediately and now at this present instance, and to appear plainly Visible before me, y^e spirit Marage, or some other from your orders or mansions, in all mildness, peace, & friendliness, wth[out] any hurt, disturbance, or any other cavill whatsoever, either to me or this place wherein I am, or any other place, person, or creature whatsoever, but that quietly, curteously, & obediently to serve me & fulfill my desires, & do my commandment in all things wherein he may, &c.:—all which I earnestly urge & constraine thee, O thou Royall and potent spirit Oriens, to doe for me in: N: P: F: SS:⁸

Let this constraint be altered three times, then proceed to the following exorcism, and say thus seven or nine times, then goe again to that above, w^{ch} order observe one, two, or three hours, or as occasions shall require, &c:—

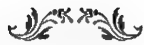
O thou spirit Marage, I adjure, call upon, bind, constrain, & command thee by the authority & dignity of thy prince & head of thy Hierarchy, unto whom thou owest honour & obedience, & by the truest and most especiall name of your master, commanding the order and mansion

8. In Nomine Patri, Fili et Spiritu Sancti. (In the name of the Father, the Son, & the Holy Ghost.)

wherein you inhabit & reside, I doe adjure, command, constrain & earnestly urge thee, O thou spirit **Marage**, to appear and show thyself visibly and affably in all serenity & meekness here before me in a fair & decent forme, and in no wise turbulent, hurtfull, or terrible unto me, or the place wherein I am, or to any other place or creature w^tsoever or wheresoever. Butt come ye peaceably, & in all humility, & show thyselfe plainly & visibly here before me, to my full vision & eye sight, speaking plainly & to be understood, giving one faithfull & true answers to all my demands, and readily doing my commandment and fulfilling my requests in all such matters & things whatsoever, according to your office, wherein you may or can, without any illusion, or other fraudulent delayances whatsoever that may tend to the circumvention of my present desires, or at all in the least destructive to my hopes & expectations, move therefore, prepare ye & come away, show thy selfe, and make no longer tarrying or delay, and do for me as for the servant of the Highest.

	Paymon		West		Mirage or Baulit
And if	Egyn	King of the	North	be invocated, bid him send	Mirage
	Amaymon		South		Merage
					Marage

Now by changing the names of the spirits and the Angle from where they are called upon respect being had to the other three, as is Exemplified in the Regall spirit Oriens, whose Invocation in this last Experiment of in^o Hochim may serve also for those that are just next foregoing, and to be placed before the Invocation of the spirituall messenger Temel, and that of Paymon to goe before the constraint of Alphasis and the Invocation of Amaymon, to proceed the call of Emlon, so that altering each name in every severall and respective Invocation and observing the Ayeriall Angle or Quarter for East, West, North & South, & so invocating according to art, you can rarely erre or doe amiss, &c.



There are other names by which these four regall spirits are known & have been invocated & been brought to familiarity & verbal community by the L: C: E of S⁹ as

Oriens		East		Ories		Samael
Paymon	King of the	West	aliter	Paynim	by the Hebrews	Azazel
Egyn		North		Egym	they are called	Azael
Amaymon		South		Mayrary		Mahazal

Finis.

9. Perhaps a reference to Lord Charles, 3rd Earl Stanhope (1753-1816), an inventor and statesman who knew the artist John Varley and possibly other members of the Mercurii.

Appendix Two

Another listing of spirits occurs under the title *The Offices of Spirits* in Sloane MS 3853, ff.257-259, with a number of invocations for similar requests following. The manuscript begins with a list of ten spirits described by rank and office, all of which can be paired with a spirit of similar name and/or description in Hockley's manuscript variant. These ten do not represent a contiguous subset of spirits in the larger listing given in Hockley, but appear scattered throughout.

Following the initial ten spirits is a listing of the Four Kings, Oriens, Paymon, Amaymon, and Egin. Neither the kings nor the subservient spirits affiliated with them are given descriptions or offices, but appear merely as an unelaborated listing by cardinal direction.

Lastly are sets of spirits listed as being fruitful for a given purpose. These also are given only in name, the majority of which are associated with the finding of treasure.

The Offices of Spirits

Birtin¹ is a great duke, & wyll apeare in the lyknes of a crewall bear havyng a dragons tayle & he is very expert in the virtue of erbys & presious stones & wyll carry a man from region to region most swyftlye & he caryethy a man fast and havethe 30 legiones of sprits.

Gorsios² is a King

Gorsios is a great & a myghtye kinge & wyll appeare lyke a man havyng a lions face & crowned w^t a diademe bearyng in his hand a fierce viper and rideth upon a beare & before him goethe trompets & he knowethee all thynges privy well hyd treasure & wyll gladly apere gevyng true answeres & hathe 6 legiones of sprys.

1. The two manuscripts drawn from the Porter text (hereafter "The Porter texts") give Barton, spirit number 34, duplicated as Bartyn, spirit number 38.

2. The Porter texts give the name as as Gorsyar, spirit number 11.

Algor³ a duke

Algor is a great duke & wyll apeare in ye lyknes of a fayer knight bearynge his speare in his hand gevyng true answers & shewythe all dowts & howe thay may be brought to pass & what things shall happen & hathe under him 30 legions of spryghts.

Bearci⁴ a captayne

Bearci is a great archer & wyll apeare in ye lyknes of an archer havynge a bow & a quiver of iron & is ye begynner of warres & makethe to shote nere the marke & hathe under hym 30 legion of spryts.

Gorax⁵ is an earle

Gorax is a great earle appearynge in ye lyknes of a bull & sometyme lyke a man havynge wonderful knowlage in astronomye & knowethe all thynges and hathe under hym 90 legions of spryts.

Golas⁶ is a prynce

Golas is a myghtye prynce & wyll appeare in ye lykeness of a dogge havynge wynges & is a cheff leder of murderers & knowethe things past & things to com and geveth knowledge of frynds & enemyes and make a man to goe invisible & hathe 20 legions of spryts.

Globa⁷ a duke

Globa is a great duke & wyll appeare in ye lyknes of a man & is ye cheff ruler of women & make them to know in love & hathe under hym 20 legions of spryts.

3. The Porter texts give the name as as Allogor, spirit number 35.

4. The Porter texts give the name as as Barsy, spirit number 68.

5. The Porter texts give the name as as Goorox, spirit number 52.

6. The Porter texts give the name as as Gloolas, spirit number 19.

7. The Porter texts give the name as as Globa, spirit number 36.

Merchisos⁸ a duke

Merchisos ys a great duke & apeareth in the lyknes of a strange man havynge a serpents tayle & is very expert in ye virtue of erbes & stones & wyll carry a man from contrye to contrye and hathe 30 legions of spyrts.

Kobo⁹ ys a Prince

Kobo ys a great prynce and wyll appeare in ye lyknes of an armed knight havynge a hed lyke a lyon and eyes flamynge & ridethe upon a blake horse and geveth Gold and Sylver & hathe 40 legiones of spryts.

Scor¹⁰ is a Duke

Scor is a duke great & wyll apeare in ye lyknes of a man & riding upon a beare & will set treasure in ye ground and is true in his workynges and hathe 30 legiones.

8. The Porter texts give the name as as Marshiones, spirit number 37.

9. The Porter texts give the name as as Kewboo, spirit number 22.

10. The Porter texts give the name as Skor, spirit number 12 (king), repeated as spirit number 17 (duke), however, the two descriptions differ.

4 Kynges

Chefe be the 4 kynges of the Ayer ...¹¹ Oriens in the est & Paymon in the west & Amaymon in the southe, & Egin in the northe.

Names off spryts in ye est parte

Ardnoell, Fornifer, Pamamell, Gaziel, Achimaell, Castiell, Ydiadell, Banmsell, Cazimassel, Rarmias

Names off sprits in the Southe pte

Nesrethel, Nescrathe, Arioth, Bileth, Tatal, Amirasell, Oosel, Reson, Ramethe, Banmles

Names off spryts in the west pte

Arebas, Escaell, Asamathiel, Agassadall, Dugonel, Dagan, Regimas, Berur, Cador, Atherib, Naanithe

Names off spryts of ye northe pte

Naarats, Cananell, Belsabuth, Legaban, Belzabub, Ragetall, Fegor, Feges, Tanthill, Tantil, Sammel, Madail

Names off spryts off ye ...¹² sort

Arell, Masinage, Senanen, Senanes, Naarall, Maregg, Zazadas, Parienell, Laanabel, Laanall, Sasiael, Gariael, Satatiell, Aziell

Names of sprits to obtayne Love

Ahnazin, Elitona, Miramian, Gorobahim, Zaton, Vazu, Alpus, Nirtob, Tasir, Turfirnar

Names off sprits ... treasure

Astarothe, Beliall, Croglis, Agonella, Azaball, Elietell, Alastiell, Pedegall, Butiell, Soriell, Bileth, Gabriell, Rannlon, Barathin, Baron, Egippia, Alineqin, Elitona, Giherdin, Mosatus, Bileth, Doregibia, Emeli, Aratitali, Askariel, Buraell, Alkaell, Oberion, Baron, Baylon, Oskiel, Taffreillis, Babethel, Burell, Galbars, Lunsroya, Kodetina, Andall, Fumine, Yaba, Bolda, Lundus, Gunduer, Astariell

11. Illegible.

12. Illegible. Possibly "same" or "tamer".

[The following also in 3853, f. 208]

Eguppia, Almarin, Elicona, Giherdin, Mosacus, Bleth, Gorogibia,
Eneli, Aratirali, Askariel, Baraell, Alkaell, Oberion, Baron, Baylen, Offriel,
Confrielis, Babeth, Bariell, Galbay, Lunfroga, Frandocina, Andall, Fumint,
Yamba, Bolda, Lumdus, Gundur,¹³ Astariell.

Cheberus appeareth lyke a ranke k...¹⁴ & hathe good practice in retorike &
all arts

Goathe is a p^rnce & makethe women to love men.

Arambos a duke and apere in the likness of a man.

13. f 208 has Gundus.

14. Illegible. Possibly "king".